AKWESASNE NOTES

Where the Partridge drums

Newsstand price $1.00

Volume 10, No. 4

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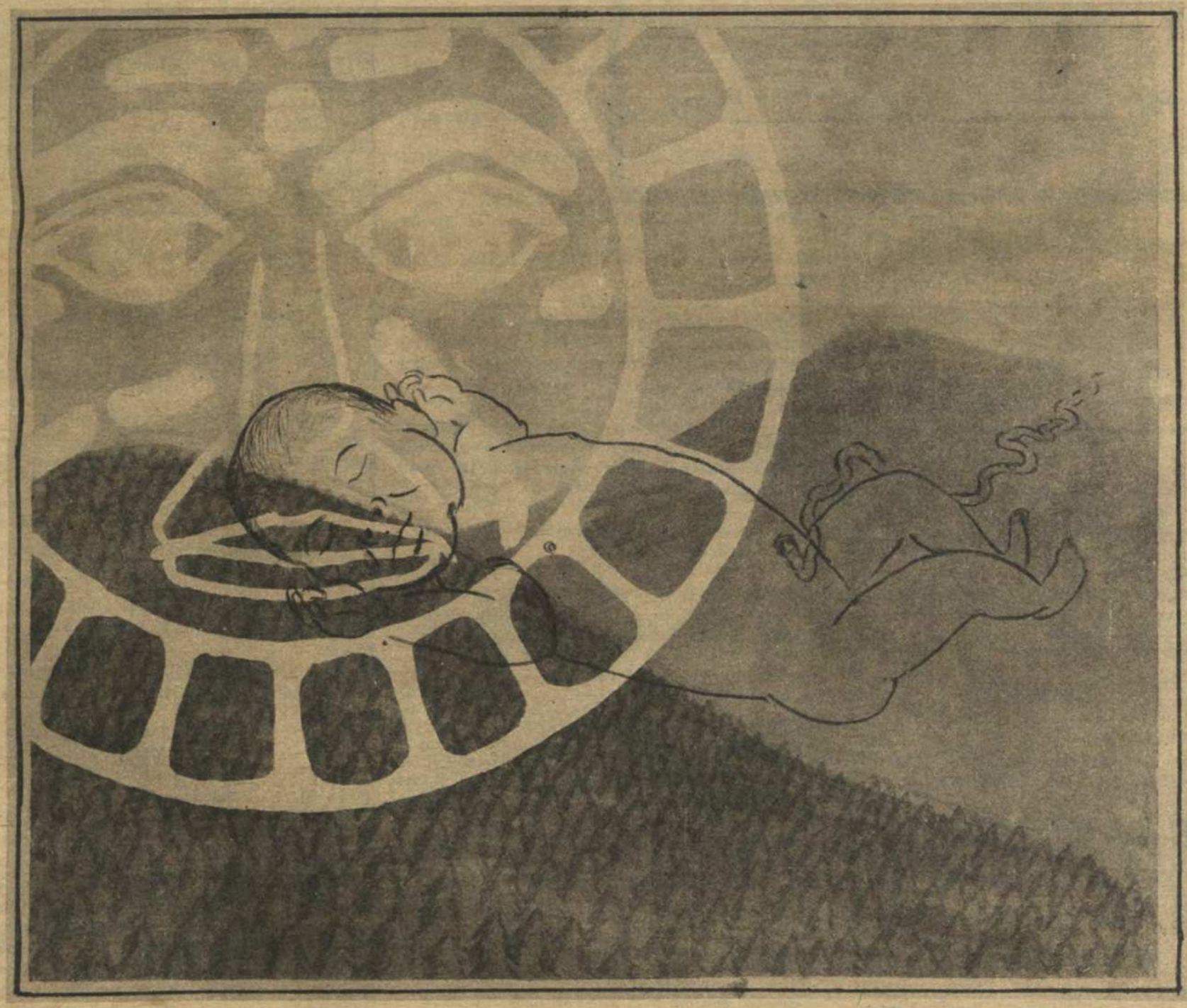
RD 1 BOX 146
BRISTOL VT 05443



A JOURNAL FOR NATIVE AND NATURAL PEOPLES

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FOR SALE

AKWESASNE NOTES would like to sell some type-setting equipment. We have a three-year-old IBM Selectric Recorder Magnetic Tape Model V and an IBM Selectric Composer MT/Reader system which originally cost over $16,000. This newspaper was typeset with this equipment. Make offer. Serious inquiries only, by mail or to (518) 483-2540. Package deal.

NEEDED FOR NOTES

Kids clothes, jeans for tall men, canning lids, pressure canner and boiling canner, yard goods, hoes, rakes, shovels, bedding, cassette tape recorders, T-squares, acetate sheets, drawing table, pens, pencils, toys for children and babies, gloves, and a 35mm camera.

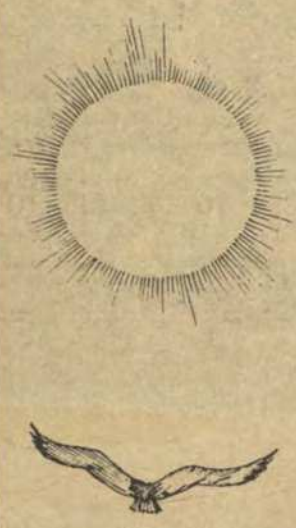
AKWESASNE NOTES

ISSN: 0002-3949

Recipient: Grant from the World Council of Churches Special Fund to Combat Racism (1975), Robert F. Kennedy Memorial Foundation Journalism Award Special Citation (1973), Marie Potts Award of the American Indian Press Association (1972). Member: Alternative Press Syndicate.

AKWESASNE NOTES is indexed in the Alternat Press Index.

This issue printed by M.R.S. Printing, Gouverneur, New York.



A NEW WAY TO HELP NOTES

Your Contributions to AKWESASNE NOTES can now be tax-deductible.

The Youth Project of Washington, D.C., a public foundation, under 501-3-C of the Internal Revenue Code has agreed to take NOTES under its wing as a research and educational project.

If you would like to support these efforts and receive the benefit of a tax-deductible contribution your check should be made out to Akwesasne Notes/ The Youth Project, and sent to us here at NOTES.

You will receive a letter of receipt that you can keep for your income tax records.

We still do not accept government funds, but we urge you to take advantage of this opportunity to help our message grow.

The AKWESASNE NOTES People

AKWESASNE NOTES is published five times annually: March, May, July, September, and December. It is published by the Program in American Studies of the State University of New York at Buffalo; co-publisher is D-Q University, Box 409, Davis, California

Editorial and circulation offices are maintained on the Mohawk Nation at Akwesasne, near Hogansburg, New York, and at locations near Rooseveltown, New York, and Malone, New York.

Second class postage paid at Owl's Head, New York 12969, with additional entries at Massena, New York, 13662, and Utica, New York, 13503.

Postmaster: send form 3579 and all correspondence to:

AKWESASNE NOTES
Mohawk Nation
via Rooseveltown, N.Y. 13683
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HOW IT IS WITH US

"How far are you going?" I asked.

"All over," Segwalise, said. "California, Arizona, Colorado, – a lot of places."

"Well, when will the trip get back?" I asked, following him through the house as he apparently searched for something he misplaced.

"About eight weeks from now."

VOICES FROM THE EARTH, the travelling group of AKWESASNE NOTES was ready to leave for another tour. This tour, which will extend into late November, will be a long one. The work is important – it allows NOTES people to reach into the communities and to keep in touch with the issues which affect the Native people. It also serves as a real communications tool, allowing people to conduct seminars and teach-ins and to reach the communities with news and views of the national and international scene. It is a unique service.

The group left before the paper went to the printers. Different people are scheduled to join and to leave the trip as it goes along. Traditional speakers and leaders will have an opportunity to travel and to tell people about the situations in the Indian Country. And some of the NOTES staff will hava an opportunity to tell people about our work.

This year, people have been asking for programs of an informative nature. The days when people wanted primarily to be entertained seem to be behind us now. It's a lot of work, and it is difficult to attract people to this kind of work. The hours are long, the sleeping accommodations sometimes uncertain, and the bus rides sometimes exhausting.

But it is also the kind of work which has an impact. Last year, on one occasion, we were told that a VOICES stop impacted a community in the midwest so successfully that the local sponsors estimated that one-third of the whole community, saw and heard Native people discuss their views and problems for the first time. And, of course, it allows NOTES to make friends, contacts, and to find people who need to meet other people we know. It is a lot of work, but it is a worth.

The travelling group will be mostly in the midwest, the West Coast, and the Southwest, although there are scheduled stopps in a few cities in the East.

Segwalise says that there are a few dates still open on his calendar.

VOICES FROM THE EARTH is in the process of planning our Spring 1979 trip, also. Our focus for this trip will be the Northwest area of the U.S. and Western Canada. We are hoping to visit Montana, Idaho, Wyoming, Oregon, Washington, British Columbia, and Alberta. And stops will be booked all the way out and back.

People who are interested and can help arrange a stop, please contact Segwalise at:

VOICES FROM THE EARTH
AKWESASNE NOTES
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(518) 483-2540

Akwesasne Notes Speakers Bureau lists some of the best-known and best-informed public speakers in a wide range of topic areas in Indian affairs. NOTES offers a coordination service in the belief that public speakers can have a significant impact on the consciousness of communities across this continent.

If your community, university, school, or other organization feels that a Native speaker could shed some light on the issues of the day in a personal way, then we urge you to take advantage of this service. When you contact us, we will contact a speaker who we feel can meet the needs you have expressed.

Different people have different needs in terms of money. Some people can travel and work for $100 per day, others need more. It is expected that with any speaking arrangement, the hosts will assume the costs of travel, food, and lodging. Each issue, we will try to introduce you to a different speaker in the Bureau.

AKWESASNE NOTES SPEAKERS BUREAU PRESENTS:

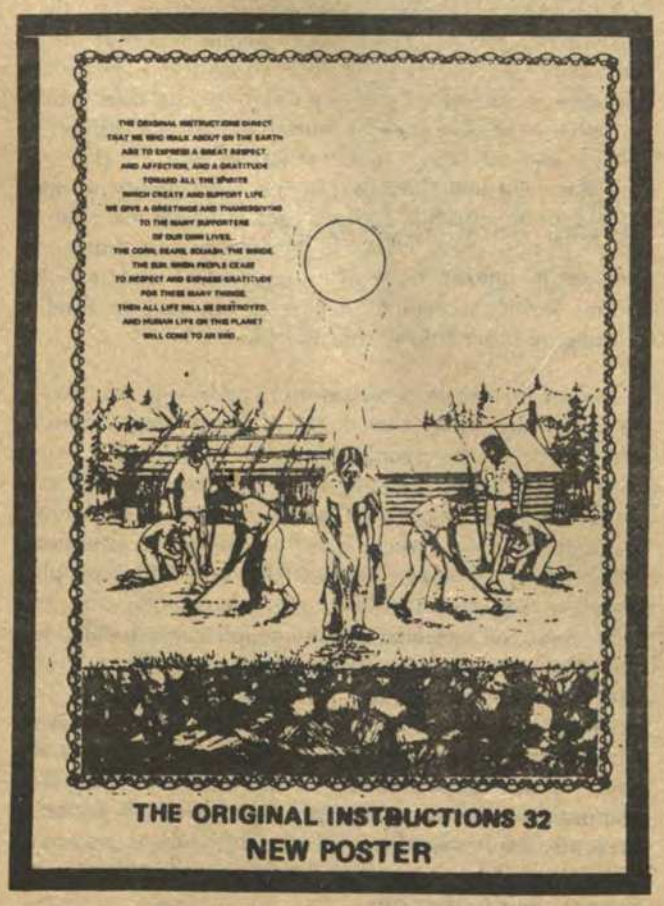
Sakokwenonkwas (Mr. Thomas Porter).

Traditional messages: Areas of discussion by Sakokwenonkwas are: Indian prayer, prophecy, religion, history, values, ecology.

Current Issues: Indian/non-Indian relationships, treaties and land problems, personal experiences, education, government and missionaries.

Films: Films on Indians' past history and present causes, produced, directed and presented by Indian filmmakers.

Sakokwenonkwas is recognized by many traditional Indians as a respected spokesman for our Way of Life. He is a sub-chief of the Mohawk Bear Clan at Akwesasne. He normally receives an honorarium of $300 plus travel, food and lodging.


THE ORIGINAL INSTRUCTIONS DIRECT
THAT WE WHO WALK ABOUT ON THE EARTH
ARE TO EXPRESS A GREAT RESPECT
AND AFFECTION, AND A GRATITUDE
TOWARD ALL THE SPIRITS
WHICH CREATE AND SUPPORT LIFE.
WE GIVE A GREETINGS AND THANKSGIVING
TO THE MANY SUPPORTERS
OF OUR OWN LIVES.
THE CORN, BEANS, SQUASH, THE BIRDS,
THE SUN, WHEN PEOPLE CEASE
TO RESPECT AND EXPRESS GRATITUDE
FOR THESE MANY THINGS,
THEN ALL LIFE WILL BE DESTROYED,
AND HUMAN LIFE ON THIS PLANET
WILL COME TO AN END.

THE ORIGINAL INSTRUCTIONS 32
NEW POSTER

BACK ISSUES FOR $6

The entire set of available back issues of AKWESASNE NOTES is available at $6.00 per set. There are, as supplies hold, approximately twenty-four issues of the newspaper in each set.

Early issues of AKWESASNE NOTES are no longer in print, and our current stock is dwindling. Therefore, we make this offer to people who may have a need of this invaluable repository of information.

HOW TO SUBSCRIBE TO THIS NEWSPAPER

Just write to us, and we'll add your name to the mailing list. There is no fixed subscription price–but that does not mean the paper is free. Printing alone for this issue will cost over $6,000, and rising postage costs will come to about $4,000. And there are other expenses – typesetting equipment, typewriters, ribbons, paper supplies, etc., and that doesn't include costs for bare subsistence for our full-time volunteer staff. We are not funded by universities, governments, or even advertising.

Our money comes from our readers, most of it in small donations such as $1, $5, $10. Some people have lots of money, others have none – we ask people to do what they can. If you want the paper, we're glad to send it to you. If you want to help with the costs, we will appreciate that – your help will assist us in continuing our work.

Another issue will be ready for mailing as soon as funds for printing have accumulated.

THINKING ABOUT MOVING? JUST MOVED?

Let us know right away so we can change your address. If you are not at the address on our list, either the paper will be forwarded at a high cost to you, or it will be destroyed and NOTES will receive a notice for which we have to pay 25 cents. More than five percent of our readers move between issues, and it would mean more than $700 cost to us, plus the loss of more than 3,000 newspapers. Please be sure to send in your old address or an old address label when you send us your new address. That way, you won't be sent two copies, and neither you nor us will need to pay any extra postage.

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KEEP US STRONG!

According to our own estimates, AKWESASNE NOTES is read with interest by over 100,000 readers each issue, and probably reaches conservatively three or four times that number. NOTES is the largest and fastest growing Native newspaper in North America, and we believe that it may be the largest authentic Native publication in the Western world. We are active, and we are growing, we think, because we are serving a unique purpose – to bring to our readers an understanding and a vision of the world which has been all but forgotten by Western Man, and thus inevitably ignored by other publications.

To that end, our writers explore many aspects of concern of our times, from issues usually associated with ecology, to issues dealing with political repression, movements, alternative technology, self-sufficiency, and social analysis. In addition to these objectives, NOTES is also one of the leaders in the publication of Native poetry and is one of the centers of Native art production and distribution. NOTES is more than a news magazine – it is an exploration of Twentieth Century society, a view of these difficult times.

People from all walks of life read and correspond with NOTES. The success of our effort depends on the responses of our readers. We constantly need news clippings of events in Indian country and around the world – the kind of news people should know about. And, of course, we always have a use for photographs, recordings of taped interviews or speeches, and articles which people feel may be of interest to an international audience. Helping NOTES to grow is a way of helping many people gain in consciousness, and reading NOTES is a way of supporting your own personal growth.

We would like to have many more readers of NOTES. You can help this paper grow by encouraging your friends and acquaintances to read some of the articles you think may interest them. NOTES is not simply a Native newspaper – it is a newspaper which has a message for all peoples who are striving in some ways for a better future.

Ours is a most difficult task, for we are trying to help people who have some kind of interest and concern for their people to understand and to unite with other peoples who have what appear on the surface to be separate and different concerns. We believe that the concerned people can come to one mind about their concerns, and we would like to be a part of the process which may help this to happen. But we are, after all, only a newspaper, a reflection – you, the reader, are a participant in the processes which make the kind of life we and our children will lead in this world. We offer our work as a tool in your work – help us grow so that NOTES will be a stronger tool. Promote NOTES – tell people about it, generate interest in the issues we cover. In that way, we will all grow stronger.

MICROFILM

AKWESASNE NOTES is available on microfilm and microfiche from a number of sources:

University Microfilms ($4.60 and $6/year)
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48105

Microfilm Corporation of America
21 Harristown Road
Glen Rock, New Jersey 07452

KTO Microform
Kraus-Thomson Organization Ltd.
Rte 100
Milwood, N.Y. 10546

Wholesale

AKWESASNE NOTES is proud to offer what is probably the finest line of authentic Native crafts available anywhere in North America. Of special interest is the line of hand crafted baskets made of black ash splints and sweet grass. Mohawk basket makers are world famous for their excellent craftsmanship and produce baskets of a quality unsurpassed at any price. These baskets are authentic products made for practical use and the pack baskets, especially, are light-weight, sturdy, and in every way superior to any of the back-pack apparatus made of canvas or aluminum. Other baskets which are available include corn washing baskets, storage baskets, and fancy ewing baskets. There are also kettle baskets, pin cushions, and strawberry baskets.

In addition to baskets, we carry a fine line of beaded moccasins, earrings, necklaces, hair ties, chokers, and other products. Most of these products are one-of-a-kind items. A typical wholesale order would have a retail value of $133. Your price would be $100 plus a few dollars shipping. Order from: Kaientares
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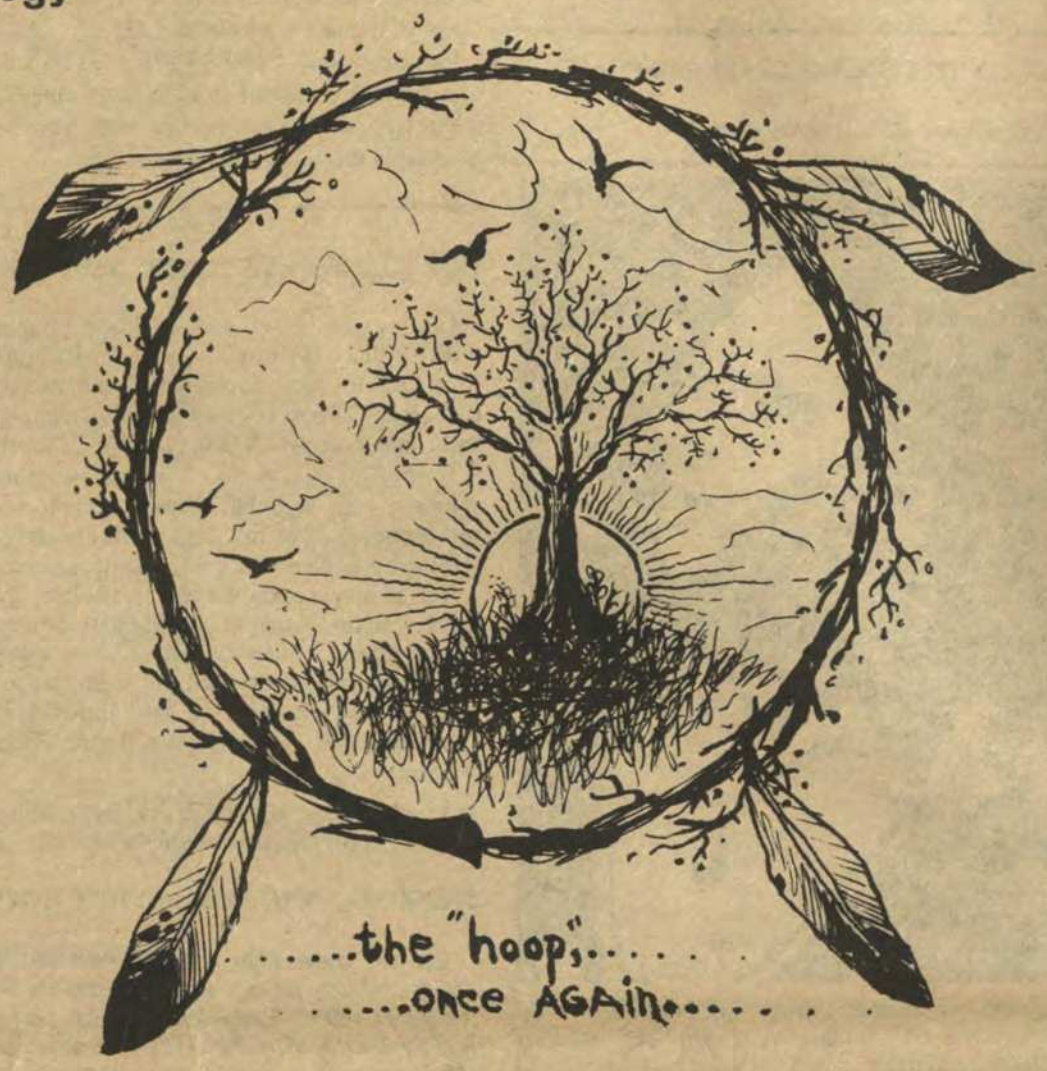
Regaining Control of Our Lives

The promise of Appropriate Technology



It was during the era of The Sixties, as they call it these days – complete with anti-war rallies, university riots, and back-to-the-land people dressed in coveralls. A few of us were at a large university, trying to find out what would constitute a Native Studies program, holding on to the somewhat dim hope that, were we ever to discover a way to incorporate the university into some kind of real social process, there would be the support in terms of money and political effort to create an actual program.

We focused our attention on the Native communities. What kinds of things did people there want to see happen? What were their needs? I remember the theme of one of the orientation programs for incoming freshmen – directed right at Native students: "You can come home again." It was not an inappropriate theme. One of the major problems that people related was that "educated" Indian people rarely seemed to return to their communities. Once they attained the skills they sought, they found the high-paying jobs in the cities sometimes thousands of miles from their homes.

We talked to people about the needs. Clearly, Native people need some kind of local economy. But there were other considerations which were expressed also. What about the Native culture? How will that be affected? Some kinds of economic development involves technologies which are not only dangerous to the existence of Native cultures, but which would undoubtedly affect the physical quality of life on the reservation.

There were a lot of problems which people rarely mention. On the university campus, if you spoke about social change and the need to organize people to move toward that change, (which is what a local economic development would require,) somebody said that you were being "brainwashed" by some non-Native person or another. If you came home and began to talk about social change, one group said that you were "preaching to the teepee," while another group argued that you were some kind of Communist.

If you argued that economy wasn't a simple matter of control of the means of production, the Marxists denounced you as some kind of reactionary minority, and any suggestion that traditional Native values and culture could serve as a model drew the comment that the strategy was simply a diversion from the real need to organize the working class. If you argued that social development could find positive example in the traditional economies, people shouted that the Day of the Buffalo had ended and that such thoughts belong in some Romanticist's archives. Progressive change was not easily promoted. Mixed into that scenario were the complexities of two or more hundred years of already existing social change on the Indian territories.

There was arising in the Native communities a new kind of Indian person who was, in a way, confusing the issues even more. The anti-war protests and the Civil Rights Movement brought to light a basic need among Native people to develop some kind of positive identity.

"Born-again" Indians came out of the woodwork to announce to the world that Native people are nothing short of saintly, and that anything short of ideological perfection was "not Indian," or at least not Indian enough. The practical day-to-day questions of how to put food on the table or a roof over your head never occupied much of their time. "Being Indian is a feeling," they said. It was a popular theme.

I remember hearing that the "Indian Way" was the thing that needed to be taught to the young people. There were seminars and more seminars, conferences and discussion groups. The "Indian Way," as proposed primarily by the urban and professional Indians, involved a discussion about the suddenly discovered strong points of the "true" Indian personality.

People were asked to believe that all the Native people were somehow possessed of characteristics of love and familial devotion and that the Indian Way involved trust and an attention to religion which few priests ever achieve. The "Indian Way" proved to be tremendously effective in countering any efforts at change. It was possible to denounce virtually anything as not being the Indian Way. Some of the most promising Native people who were working toward real change were roundly denounced as being "not Indian enough."

There is a kind of defense mechanism within Western culture which makes it extremely conservative and resistant to change. It is ready, willing, and able to verbalize anything. So much information is available, and so many divergent views, that people are made impotent simply by the weight of options open to them. One is tempted to argue at times that an excess of information turns the most articulately expressed and purposefully directed strategies into just so much rhetoric.

What comes to mind is that maybe people were asking the wrong questions. The real issues became clouded, and few people were willing to address those issues. It is a problem that life on the Indian territories seems to hold a very questionable future. Many of the Indian territories are existing on a "welfare" economy, held up from quarter to quarter by BIA and other federal grants and loans. An alarming percentage of the people are presently employed by the federal government or programs funded by the federal government.

Native communities in the United States and Canada possess a surprisingly low number of people participating in any form of material production. In most cases, people are not producing the things the community needs. They are on the bottom rung of the economic ladder, and they are trapped there by the enormous grants and the welfare system which is the reservation economy. Conditions may be better materially under the welfare economy than they were during the period of "benign neglect," but the basic problems remain unaddressed. Part of what has happened is that the motivation to address those problems has been removed for a lot of people. When asked about the future, most of the federally funded people respond that the U.S. has a "trust responsibility" to Indians. They think the federal funding will keep coming in forever.

Native people have also become captives of the consumer mentality. Many Native people feel that they must have every amenity in order to achieve happiness. Although many of us grew up dirt poor, we now want the most expensive toys for ourselves and our children. Money, and the things that cost money, are of value to us today, and independence, or things of quality which do not have a price tag, have come to have less value. There is not much effort in the Native communities directed at finding ways to meet peoples' needs which do not involve access to dollars as opposed to food, clothing, or other things which people need.

One of the things people need to address is, what will happen if by some chance the U.S. economy falters? Almost the only people who think that will never happen are Native people who are living on federal program checks. What will happen if the U.S. economy starts to fail, or if there is a Proposition 13 situation which impacts Indian country? What will Native people do in the event that the dollars stop coming in?

In times of economic crisis, people seem willing to accept radical changes. The politics of the New Deal, which arose during the Great Depression, give an example of this tendency. Today, for a great many people, programs such as the New Deal, the New Frontier, and the Great Society appear to be a source of economic problems instead of the answers they once were seen to be. In the event of a deepening economic crisis, the indicators are that people are willing to accept a radical shift to the right.

There is every appearance that the U.S. is beginning a serious political shift to the right. Right-wing politicians such as Jack Cunningham appear to be growing in popularity. That trend is almost certain to impact Indian territories where it will hurt the most – in the area of federal funding. The same trend also poses a possibility of the total loss of the land base.

There are other factors which people should be aware of. The U.S. economy is experiencing some crises which aren't mentioned very often. At one point, U.S. industry was the most modern and efficient, and the U.S. economy the most vigorous in the world. But now, the U.S. Gross National Product has stagnated and is beginning what appears to be a decline. A lot of U.S. industry is today obsolete, and other countries, especially Japan and West Germany, have very modern industrial facilities which are more efficient than their U.S. counterparts.

The U.S. is losing its position as the unchallanged leader of the industrial world. U.S. products and manufacturing techniques are no longer considered the best or most efficient. Because of this, and the accompanying realities that other countries are producing goods of the same quality at lower prices, the balance of trade is shifting seriously away from the United States, at least in many industries. Today, the major U.S. exports involve weaponry, grain, and technology – specifically computer technology.

The weakened position in terms of the world trade balance which has resulted from the relative decline of U.S. industry has been the major reason for the decline of the U.S. dollar against the West German mark and the Japanese yen. Some influential American economists are saying that what is needed is massive capitalization of U.S. industry and the expansion and rebuilding of the transportation networks and other supportive structures which an industrialized country needs. There is not a lot of capital lying around for this purpose.

The politics of reindustrialization appear certain to trickle down throughout the society. It is undeniable that big business moguls have an eye on the social services funds which the U.S. government has been doling out in increasing amounts since the Depression. The people who see the "welfare state" as a competitor for investment capital have a broad base of potential political allies in the middle class, which sees that their property taxes and income taxes are used for social welfare programs which deliver services to the poor and minority groups.

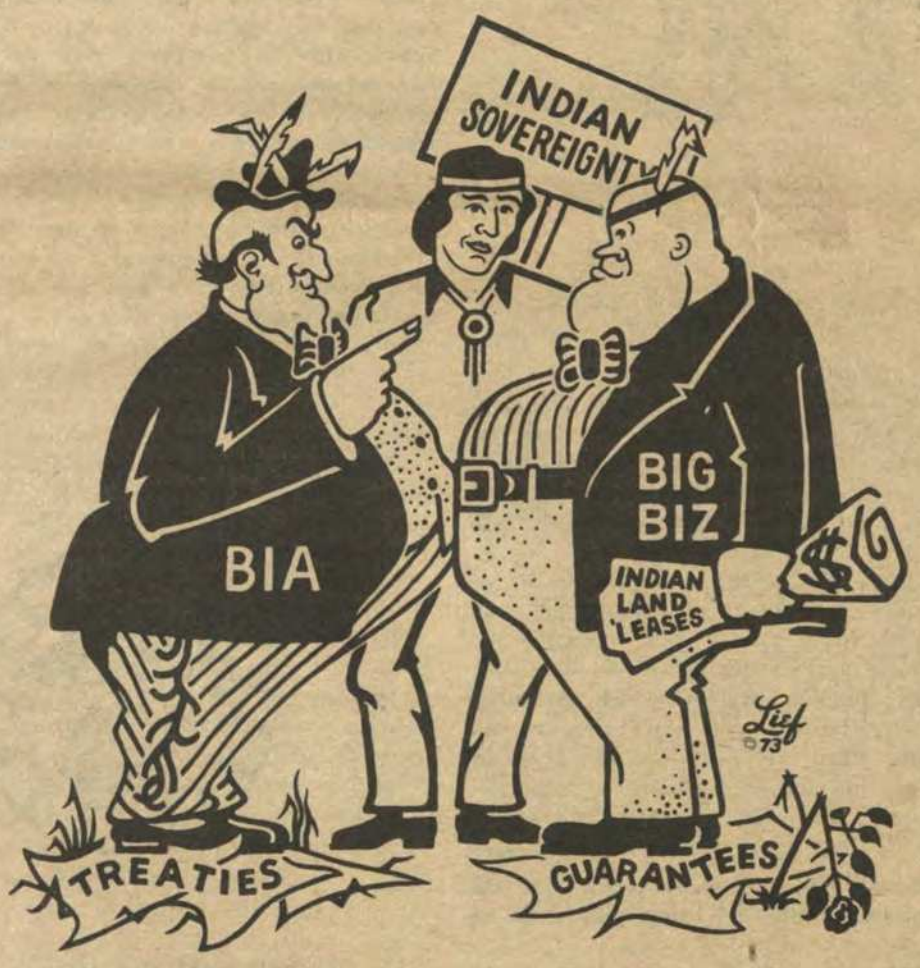
In California, conservative politicians were successful in obtaining passage of a public referendum which altered the state constitution to create a ceiling on taxes and state spending. The amendment, called Proposition 13, should not be seen as an isolated incident. It could well foreshadow a popular national movement designed to reduce the amounts of public moneys allocated to social welfare services.

Conservative politicians are arguing that a reduction in corporate taxes will provide more money for investment capital. They say that reduction in property and income taxes will free more money for investment in the private sector and will stimulate the economy by making more money available for consumption of consumer goods. That will, they say, stimulate higher profits which will mean more reinvestment, the creation of more jobs in the private sector, and a return to a more vigorous economy.

What that would mean is that the flow of dollars to communities for such services as alcohol abuse program and summer youth employment programs, as well as a vast number of CETA, VISTA, and other programs, could be drastically reduced. There is certainly a political movement under way in the U.S. which would accomplish just that.

It seems almost too obvious, at this point, that one of the program areas which would be slated for cuts, should there be cuts, will be the programs which impact the Native communities. In some Native communities, 85% of the people employed have jobs under some category of federal funding. There may be other kinds of communities which can show that kind of statistic, but the undeniable truth is that in the event of a political swing to the right and massive reallocation of funding priorities, the Native communities will be the first to suffer, and will suffer the most. That prospect is not only a dim possibility. The political processes in American life which lead that way have already begun.

There will be, predictably, exceptions to the rule. Those Native territories which possess substantial natural resources will probably continue to receive government programs at the same level or at even increased levels. The reason for this is that there will continue to be a need to create a dependent reservation infrastructure for the extraction of the minerals. On the Native territories where there are no or insignificant mineral deposits, it is probable that cuts in public spending for delivery of social services can be predicted.



The massive federal funding which has flooded into Indian reservations in recent years has created jobs and has brought accompanying social problems. On the Yakima Nation, everyone who wants a job has one. Yet, Yakima also has the highest adolescent suicide rate and the highest alcoholism and drug abuse rates in the long history of that nation. People who believe that employment and employment alone is a key to solving social problems need to examine the record in the Indian country. The social problems bear a visible association with the increased federal funding.

It is much more difficult to see that the funding has added much to these communities' abilities at self-reliance, however. A quick review of the grant proposals will reveal that the federal dollars were intended to stimulate skill development and motivation which was supposed to lead to self-reliance among Native people. It hasn't worked. Indeed, even the attempts at real models of economic development have followed the route of the EDA/BIA efforts to make reservations into tourist areas, efforts which cost staggering amounts of money and which ended, in almost every case, in utter failure. The BIA policy of "self-reliance" has been, in the kindest possible words, unenlightened. For the most part, BIA bureaucrats see Native people as a potential cheap labor force which private industries can utilize during periods of expansion. Most often, "self-reliance" has simply been a rhetorical tool which the bureaucrats have used while designing programs which would draw the Native people into ever deepening conditions of dependence on the Bureau and other federal agencies.

What the BIA has accomplished is that many Native communities presently suffer almost total dependence on federal funding for their very existence. If the funding can claim any success at all, it is in the area of acculturation. Communities which 40 years ago were almost entirely self-sufficient are today virtually assimilated into the U.S. economy.

BIA/EDA policy brought to the Native people a system of industrial parks which were attracted to the reservations because of the lack of taxes and extremely attractive lease agreements which allowed them to exploit Native credit and labor practically without liability or risk. When the Department of Labor and the Economic Development Assistance subsidies were discontinued, the companies fled to greener pastures in Taiwan and Korea.

Economic policies such as industrialization were introduced to Native communities with the full weight of the federal government. The major target of those programs was the replacement and destruction of the traditional economies, and to that end, the programs were surprisingly successful. Today the growing lands of the Pueblo lie fallow and abandoned, the grazing lands of the Oglalas are leased to white ranchers, and the fields of the Senecas are rented to commercial farmers – non-Indian commercial farmers.

Everywhere most of the people buy their food at the supermarket. At last we know exactly what acculturation means. It means that a people can't provide for themselves anymore. Acculturation is when people are not producing to meet their own needs. The federal funding has brought the people more than money – it has purchased their dependence.

Culture and economy are inseparable. A lot of people today have come to accept the BIA definition of culture as referring to music, dress and language. But cultures are inconceivable without an economic base. Even spiritual life revolves to a considerable extent around the ways that people see their lives supported. Indeed, it is arguable that peoples' personal relationships and their relationships to their environment are molded by the ways in which they meet their needs, and the manifestation of those ways is what we call culture. In the absence of culture, there can be no economy. In the absence of economy, there is no culture. All that remains is the memory of culture. People who promote music and costume-making in urban cultural centers are not promoting culture, they are promoting the memory of culture. One of the alarming aspects of the loss of culture (of acculturation,) is that in the absence of processes which meet peoples' needs, social disintegration occurs. That is why acculturation is associated with alcoholism, suicide, family disintegration, and all the other social ills that the federal government has programs to control. It is a model of the process of colonialism. First they create

the problem, then they offer prescriptions as remedies. The destruction of the Native economy has been one of the stated goals of the federal bureaucracies which deal with Indian people since the foundation of the United States.

The logical response to that process is that Native people must develop, or redevelop, their own economies. To develop a Native economy, (and almost everyone is in favor of that, at least rhetorically,) we are immediately forced to deal with overall questions concerning what is called technology. At the moment, technology is too often treated as a given. All technology, so we are told, is Western technology. If you are talking about providing housing, a lot of people think that there is only one technology which builds houses. In truth, there are many technologies, and many kinds of housing. Peiple who are serious about the need to develop a Native economy are faced with the problem of becoming familiar with the technologies which exist and then choosing technologies which meet their needs.

Stated differently, an economy involves the production and distribution of goods and services, and production requires techniques – tools and skills – as well as sources of materials. Before we can talk about developing the mechanics of distribution of goods or services, we must deal with the questions of what kinds of skills are needed and accessible, what kinds of tools are needed and accessible, and what kinds of materials are needed and accessible.

Technologies come in all shapes and sizes. There are many potential choices. There are capital intensive technologies which require huge monetary investment and which often employ very few people. An example of such a technology is the coal mining process on the Navajo lands or a or the proposed Navajo agribusiness project. Capital intensive technologies are out of the reach of most people because they simply don't have the money to purchase the hardware. That kind of technology is also not appropriate to community development where the purpose is to help people to become productive because such technology is designed to replace human labor with machine production.

What Native communities need is low-cost, labor intensive technologies which they can afford and which help people to become productive. Any Native group which attempts to develop a local economy must be sophisticated in its approach to the problem.

For a technology to be really "appropriate," a number of criteria must be met. The technology must be low-cost and basically ecologically sound. The tools and skills should be under the control of the local communities, and they should use locally available resources, including materials. Those technologies should be flexible enough so that people are not locked into some kind of dependence – a reference to putting all of your eggs in one basket. And they need to be technologies which do not conflict with the cultural assumptions of the community. Technologies which do not meet these minimal criteria cannot be termed "appropriate," although one is always advised to ask, "Appropriate to what end?"

Technologies can be conceived in two broad terms. There are "hard" technologies and "soft" technologies. Hardware technology refers to the physical tools and procedural skills of a technology. "Software" refers to the things which mold value systems and which motivate and stir innovation and invention of new technologies.

At this moment in history, soft technologies are at least as important as hard technologies in the Native communities. The problems Native people are facing will not be solved by simply sifting through a catalogue of existing technologies and selecting some which seem applicable to the purpose. What is needed is a process which brints to people an understanding of the problem and which motivates them to move towards a solution. A truly appropriate technology cannot be purchased. To a considerable extent, it must be invented – or reinvented.

People should be encouraged to rediscover old technologies, to adapt those technologies to present realities, and to educate people to their use. It may be found that there is a need to investigate what people call intermediate technologies – technologies which are neither traditional nor the most capital intensive. It could be that it is not inconsistent to use roto-tillers or older tractors which are cheap but productive. Basically what people need to do is to take control once again of their own lives. They need to discover, rediscover, invent, reinvent, and otherwise gain access to the technology which makes this possible.

The idea that Native people can adapt technology is not new, but there are lessons to be learned about the social impact of new technologies. Technologies can alter culture. Consider for a moment the introduction of the horse to the Native peoples of the Plains. The horse actually arrived among many Native groups ahead of the Europeans. But the horse was an agent of profound cultural change.

Horses made it possible for large numbers of people to live on the Plains. Native people adopted the horse wholeheartedly. They became very adept breeders of horses producing breeds which were improved for their own purposes. The Apaloosa is an example of that.

But a number of Native groups which were primarily agricultural and matrilocal prior to the introduction of

the horse were gradually becoming or became hunters, gatherers, and herdsmen, and the cultures became more patrilocal. There will be arguments about that assertion, but the evidence is that the horse provided a new technology onf the Plains, and its introduction made possible and perhaps inevitable some kinds of social change.

There is a need for social change in the Native communities today, but there are many pitfalls and problems involved. Native people need to adopt some new forms of doing things which provide an alternative to the federal funding system which promotes environmental exploitation of a destructive nature, and BIA paternalism. When we look into the arena of technologies, we find that the alternative grabag is filled to the brim. There are so many technological possibilities that it staggers the mind. The choices must be made with an eye to goals, presumably the enhancement of community well-being, cultural values, and local ecology.

That horse keeps coming back to mind. It provided a new possibility for life on the Plains. One must ask, what kind of technology is needed now? What would bring to Native people the possibility of a new life on the territories they now inhabit? What would revitalize and strengthen the people now?

If the "technology" of grantproposal writing has a questionable future, what could be developed to replace it? What kinds of things will be developed when Native people do begin to regain control of their lands and resources? What will people do for a living? There are proponents of that is called "appropriate technology" in other areas of the world who are simply seeking labor intensive ways to force people to serve the world economy. If "appropriate technology" involves drawing people into an extractive relationship with the industrial centers, rural Native food producers could become a new kind of sharecropper for the multinational agribusiness firms.

The focus pretty clearly needs to be local production for local consumption. A given community of people need to look at their resources with an eye to meeting their needs themselves. When we speak of technologies of food production, we must understand that the food which is produced must be intended for consumption by the group producing it. The prospects of the sale of surplus must be secondary. The same principles need to be applied to forest products, fibers, minerals. The need is to produce for ourselves with our own (or our adapted) techniques on our own territories. And we need to consider a lot of economic networking. There exists the materials on Native territories to build homes, heat those homes, grow food, and develop a wide array of locally produced products. Native communities don't need 16' combines, they need food to eat. They don't need plywood factories, they need homes. And there is a need, on a very practical level, for people to begin to think small. We should adopt a theme – small is beautiful.

A great number of Native people today are looking to the U.S. government for assistance in these problems, but there is a low level of understanding about the processes at work. People can't invoke Native sovereignty in one breath and demand that the U.S. enact its "trust responsibility" in the next. The trust responsibility of a policy which states that Native people are legal dependents of the U.S. government. A people cannot enact sovereignty when they are in fact dependent on federal dollars for their every need, from housing to education to food on the table.

All of these issues are intertwined. To develop economic self-reliance, (or even economic independence,) a people must exercise sovereignty. To exercise sovereighty, the Native nations must achieve economic self-reliance. To do any of these things, they must control all elements of their own lives. The true value of appropriate technology is that it can be the process (including both hardware and software,) by which that control is practiced. Appropriate technology is "appropriate" to Native people only if it returns to them control over their lives. What Native people need to develop are technologies appropriate to the exercise of sovereignty. Returning to people real control over their lives must be the primary goal of Native people if they are to survive in these times.

The DETROIT FREE PRESS reported on September 2 that some pre-historic Michigan "ridge and furrow" gardens are now believed to have been a Native technology for stretching the growing season nearly 700 years ago. According to Glen Freimuth, an anthropologist, the Indian methods could probably allow home gardeners today to fend off frost for about two weeks longer than normal. Ridge and furrow gardens involve alternate trenches and mounds of dirt arranged in geometric patterns. The ridges were about 40 inches wide and two to three feet high. "The furrows created frost traps. The frosting air is colder and has more mass, so the gravity is going to pull it down and it's going to settle in these furrows," he said. "We feel the beds were constructed about AD 1300 in response to changing climactic conditions, a shift to cooler conditions. They lasted until about 1600 when conditions got too cold and even these things would not work. Nothing would."

The Navajo Nation:

Cultivating underdevelopment

(We called Lorraine Ruffing to ask permission to publish this material. It is part of a much larger piece, and is something which needs to be seen as a work in progress, not a finished work. But we liked parts of it so much that we thought that we would run these selections just as they are. Ms. Ruffing told us that she is still thinking about changing some of the theoretical sections. We said that we are interested in stimulating a dialogue in the Native communities about the subjects covered in her work.

We offer this piece as for just that purpose. Ms. Ruffing's finished work will be published in the Spring, and we will alert people to its availability as soon as possible. In the meantime, for the purpose of discussion, we feel that this work on the Navajo Nation is an important step toward an analysis of what must be done on the Native territories.

The Editors.)

The Navajo Nation occupies about 17 million acres, a tract of land equal in size to West Virginia. Poor soil and scant rainfall make it difficult to cultivate more than 50,000 acres even though the Navajos possess sufficient water rights to irrigate 5 million acres. Most of the land is used for grazing 500,000 sheep, 50,000 cattle, and 30,000 goats. There are over 400,000 acres of commercial forest which yield between $1 – 3 million in annual stumpage payments. The reservation is rich in subsurface minerals: 100 million barrels of oil, 23 billion cubic feet of natural gas, 5 billion tons of easily accessible coal, 80 million pounds of uranium. In 1975, mineral revenues amounted to $19 million.

There is a stark contrast between the wealth of Navajo resources and the well-being of Navajo people. In 1976 there were 147,210 Navajos. The potential labor force was estimated to be 61,182 with 33.5% premanently employed, 21.8% underemployed, and 44.7% completely unemployed. When income (cash and kind) from subsistence activities, wage work, and welfare are taken into account, average Navajo income per capita was $900 compared to $3921 for the United States in 1970. A recent study found that income per capita among the Navajo people as a percentage of the national average has declined from 27.3% in 1959 to 24.1% in 1969 to 19.0% in 1974. The average educational level fot the Navajos was five years compared to the national average of twelve years. There was one doctor for every 1195 Navajos compared to one for every 613 U.S. citizens.

Federal Response to Navajo Poverty

Recitation of socio-economic statistics reveals little and probably tends to obscure the real issues. Federal officials are sometimes blinded by these indicators and their response is to design bigger and better welfare programs to serve Indian people. Of course, this in turn has created more employment for federal bureaucrats who must administer these programs. Eventually, it is in the bureaucrats' self-interest to keep their client population poor, dependent, and powerless, which explains why reform is so difficult and the current policy of self-determination a failure. More serious, however, is the fact that since so much money and effort is being spent on treating the symptoms that no one has time to examine the structural relations which cause poverty.

The increase of federal programs has actually diverted the energies of tribal governments to the point where they are unable to manage these programs, let alone plan the structural transformation of their economies. Large amounts of federal aid began to arrive on the Navajo Reservation with the Navajo-Hopi Long Range Rehabilitation Act of 1950. During World War II approximately 20,000 Navajos left the reservation to fight or work in war plants or agriculture. The end of the war precipitated an economic crisis as this Navajo labor force reluctantly returned to a substandard level of living on the reservation. The act was intended to assist the Navajos in recreating a self-supporting economy and ultimately, in attaining standards of living of U.S. citizens. Almost three decades later, the standards remain as elusive as ever. Of the appropriated $89.9 million, 78% was allocated to roads, education, health, housing and communications; 20% to soil conservation and irrigation; 2% to business development.

The War on Poverty greatly increased the flow of federal dollars to the reservation. However, there is no on-going information system which automatically collects, compiles, and analyzes information on programs operated for the benefit of the Tribe by federal, state, and private agencies.

In 1972 the Navajo economy also received $73 million in indirect federal assistance, $9.7 million from state agencies, $4.8 million from private, religious and charitable contributions, and had $45.9 million in Navajo Tribal investment funds. These contributions totalled $406.9 million or $3124 per Navajo.

Unfortunately, these flows have not changed the structural conditions which create poverty. Tribal officials have come to this conclusion themselves.

"The uses to which the federal government has applied its funds in the Navajo Reservation constitutes another problem. Far too. much has been spent on the symptoms of poverty and underdevelopment and far too little spent on the causes of poverty. The Federal government has, in effect, been applying its resources to mitigating problems rather than developing solutions." (OEDP 1977:9-8).

Federal expenditures, however large, have little impact on income employment for two reasons. First, almost 60% of all federal funds are spent on education, health. housing and welfare. The federal government's concern is to provide for basic needs. Relatively little or nothing is spent to develop the abundant resources of the reservation because federal officials have not seen the necessity for tribal autocentric development. The second reason lies in the fact that federal dollars which are supposed to benefit Navajos are spent on purchasing goods and services from the center and not spent directly on the reservation. Those dollars spent on the reservation often accrue to non-Indian teachers, doctors, and merchants, or, if they accrue directly, soon leak out to border towns.

Underdevelopment of Third World countries is not an original state. Initially, they were "Undeveloped" compared to their European conquerors. Their present underdevelopment is the result of the historical relations between developed countries and Third World countries. They have always fulfilled a well-defined function – that of a reserve of raw materials and cheap labor for the advanced countries. This was most obvious during the mercantile/conquest period when European countries accumulated wealth to finance their industrial revolution first by plundering Indian treasures and then by mining the precious metals with slave labor. Where possible, plantations were created with slave labor to provide the foodstuffs and fibers needed by growing industrial economies.

Eventually such outright exploitation resulted in colonial rebellion. Despite independence, exploitation continues, though more subtly, by the maintenance of original trade patterns. The periphery supplies agricultural products and non-precious metals and in return receives manufactures. This exchange is justified by the Ricardian doctrine of comparative advantage in which everyone is supposed to gain by exporting goods which they can produce with relative efficiency. However, the advanced countries enrich themselves at the expense of the Third World by transfers of value which are unequal and hidden.

Besides draining the periphery of wealth, relations with the center distort Third World economies in a number of ways. First, economic activities are promoted which produce for the center rather than providing for internal needs. The periphery exports its resources at the rate and volume required by the center. The periphery is thus dependent on the growth of the center for its own growth. According to one dependency theorist, the best measure of underdevelopment is the divergence between domestic production and domestic use and between domestic demand and domestic needs. The divergencies are the result of basic structural relationships such as foreign ownership and control of basic resources, export specialization, pervasiveness of foreign decision-making, and the dominance of an elite social class allied with foreign interests. (Thomas 1974:123).

The outward orientation of the economy fosters the creation of an army of surplus labor. Where the environment is favorable to the development of commercial agriculture, the indigenous peoples are pushed off their land. Existing handicrafts are destroyed and the rise of any indigenous industry is blocked by the import of luxury consumption goods by those receiving export earnings. The dispossessed and unemployed have no choice but to spill over into the service sector.

Eventually, Third World countries attempt to produce their own consumer goods and so foreign capital flows into what Amin calls "light industry." The expansion of this industry is likely to be sluggish because it is dependent on the imports of capital goods from the center and the growth in local demand. Hence it is also unable to absorb surplus labor.

Underdevelopment is manifested not by socio-economic indicators but by three structural characteristics. The first is the unevenness of productivity between sectors. There are gaps in the wages between urban and rural workers, between skilled and unskilled, between workers in big firms vs. small firms. Such disparities make it difficult to build a coherent nation.

The second characheristic is a low level of internal exchange. There is no linkage between commercial agriculture, subsistence agriculture, and extractive industries. There is more external exchange than internal.

The third characteristic is the domination of Third World countries from the outside. Many of the effects of this domination were just mentioned in the discussion of the distortion of the economy. Production is oriented toward the center. Local capital is diverted to infrastructure and labor to service industries. Foreign capital controls all productive activities which leads to a flow of profits back to the center which blocks growth in the periphery.

The position of the Navajo Nation as an internal colony of the U.S. differs little from that of the Third World as the external colony of advanced countries. The same transfers of value, distortions in the economy, and structural characteristics of underdevelopment which exist in Third World countries are present in the Navajo Nation.

For example, domestic production is not used locally to satisfy Navajo needs but is exported to serve the needs of the center. The Navajo Nation supplies the industrial center of the U.S. with raw materials (wool, timber, minerals, water), crafts, and cheap labor for which it receives only a fraction of their value. In return the Navajo Tribe is a market for the manufactured products of the center. Profits from the extractive activities are not reinvested in the Nation but transferred to the center. Capital outflow and competition from "imports" block the development of Navajo controlled economic activities. As a result the bulk of the labor force is unemployed or underemployed in service or make-work jobs. The easiest way to examine how the process of underdevelopment works is to look at the Navajo economy sector-by-sector. The analysis begins with the traditional sector where the process of unequal exchange has operated for at least 100 years.

The Navajo people have traditionally engaged in livestock raising (sheep and goats), agriculture, weaving and silversmithing. At least 65% of the potential labor force is dependent on these activities to earn part of their living. These activities are either land or labor intensive and are carried out with little or no capital. By allocating family labor to each of these activities, the Navajo attained self-sufficiency. Even suprlus products were generated since Adams mentions that great quantities of wool were wasted prior to their being marketed through traders. (Adams 1963:152).

The reservation system paradoxically allowed subsistence activities to continue while undermining their self-sufficient character. Upon contact with Europeans the indigenous peoples of Africa, Asia, and America traded their subsistence products for manufactures. Later, if their land was particularly fertile, they were dispossessed by plantation agriculture. The Navajos have been allowed to continue their subsistence activities because the reservation system protected them from complete dispossession. However, the government was only able to create and enlarge the reservation as long as the land was not demanded by ranchers and settlers.

Reservation boundaries imposed definite limits on the increase of livestock. They multiplied from the original government issue to 1,300,000 in 1930. This was more than double the carrying capacity of the range. Overgrazing caused soil erosion, gullying, and aridity. A federal stock reduction program was instituted and between 1934 and 1940 livestock was reduced by one-half. Stock reduction combined with population increase lowered sheep and goats per capita from 21 in 1931 to 8 in 1940 to 3.6 in 1974 (Aberle 1963:71; BIA Range Management Report 1975). The Navajos can no longer depend solely on their flocks for support. Consequently, traditional activities must be supplemented by income-sharing among relatives, temporary wage work, and welfare.

Another factor which destroyed the self-sufficient character of the traditional economy was dependence on manufactured goods fostered by the Navajo trader. Trading with Indian neighbors, Spanish invaders, and Morman settlers was a long established feature of Navajo life. However, these exchanges were infrequent and in no way essential to Navajo existence. It was their captivity at Fort Sumner and Fort Defiance that created their dependence on government rations and manufactures. Army personnel even encouraged the Navajos to bring in surplus wool to trade for extra rations. Eventually, the officers left government service to become full time traders in Navajo wool.

By the 1870s, the Navajos were dependent on the market economy, trading their blankets and later pinon nuts, lambs and jewelry for foodstuffs and manufactures. More and more of their subsistence activities were devoted to external exchange rather than internal consumption. According to Aberle, they moved from weaving mainly to make their own clothing and bedding to weaving primarily for the market. In the 1890s, the traders, interested in expanding the rug market, virtually forced upon weavers new methods, designs, and dyes by offering unheard-of-prices.

Given that capital endowments differed between the two societies, labor productivities were unequal. Thus, a large Navajo rug which embodied months of continuous labor of herding and shearing sheep, sorting, washing, drying, dying, carding, spinning and weaving wool was exchanged for manufactured items which embodied many fewer hours of labor. In 1956 the hourly return to weaving was estimated to be ten cents (Shepardson 1963).

In the early days most of the transfer of value from the Navajo traditional economy to the industrial center was appropriated by the trader who was attracted by the double profits to be made in two-way commodity trade. He sold manufactures dear to local Navajos by giving them as little as possible in return for their rugs and wool. These items were then sold for high prices in eastern markets. However, the trader's heyday ended prior to World War I when the rug market collapsed. Wool prices now experience wide fluctuations depending on economic conditions and competition from imports and synthetic fibers.

Navajo capital accumulation in traditional activities is inhibited not only by unequal exchange and primitive accumulation by the trader, but also by his practice of credit saturation. In order to insure that local Navajos shop at his trading post, the trader advances credit just equal to his client's future income both cash and kind. However, they are encouraged to consume as much of their future income as possible in order to minimize the amount of cash they have to spend elsewhere (Adams 1963:170). High consumption allows little saving. The only way to accumulate wealth is to build up one's lifestock holdings, but this is ultimately limited by the size and capacity of one's land-use area.

It should be mentioned that the trader is himself dependent on credit from his suppliers. Since his business has a low investment value (his land, buildings and fixed assets are legally owned by the tribe, his accounts receivable are unsecured), he draws out all net earnings in salary and profit.

Credit saturation works best under conditions of geographic isolation which allow the trader a territorial monopoly. In the last 25 years, the mobility of the Navajo people has increased with the acquisition of pick-up trucks. Navajos now trade at a number of posts and shop at commercial stores in border towns. The trader now captures a smaller fraction of community income. More serious still is the fact that the bases on which he extends and receives credit are rapidly disappearing. Rugs were eliminated prior to World War I and wool in 1971 when the Tribe developed its own marketing program. Lambs can be sold elsewhere and there is no assurance that the trader will have access to welfare, railroad, and social security checks as he did in the past. Most traders' leases expire between 1980-90 and it is very likely that those old-time trading posts that extended credit to Navajos and depended on mercantile credit will cease operations. This will affect older and traditional Navajos who still earn a large part of their income from seasonal activities.

No doubt income-sharing and welfare dependency will increase. It is unlikely that the tribal government will fill the void with a credit program. So far the tribal government has neglected any meaningful development of the traditional sector because it believes that the sector cannot yield an adequate living for all Navajos. This ignores the fact that it provides important supplemental income for the 27,366 able-bodied adults (and their dependents) who cannot find wage work and the 13,311 who are underemployed. Lack of investment in the traditional sector has condemned it to a very low level of productivity. Average annual income per sheep was about $8 in 1971. Productivity in livestock and dry farming could be increased by range improvement, education in livestock practices, improved seeds, feed grains, and fertilizers, lamb and calf feedlots, livestock marketing programs and consumer credit.

Since traditional activities suffer from such low status in the minds of tribal development officials, no attempt has been made to integrate these activities into the Navajo economy. Wool, meat and hides are either consumed directly by families or exported in their crude form allowing the center to reap the gains from value-added. The traditional sector embodies virtually all the mechanisms and structures of underdevelopment discussed earlier. Transfers of value occur through low commodity prices and high retail prices; production is diverted to outside markets; productivity is low; linkages with the other sectors (particularly manufacturing and commercial agriculture) are non-existent.

THE NAVAJO – NON- RENEWABLE RESOURCES

The Navajo Nation possesses proven reserves of oil, gas, coal, and uranium. The development of such resources is remarkably similar whether the resources are located in Black Mesa, Chile or Zaire. Their development is shaped by a set of unique conditions. First, there exists the condition of uncertainty regarding the resource's supply and demand.

For example, where is it located, how large is the deposit, what is its quality, and will it be replaced by substitutes? Secondly, there is a need for a large capital commitment to explore, extract, process and market these resources. Thirdly, governments have perceived these resources as vital to their security. The existence of these special conditions has resulted in a non-market solution to the development of these resources (Diaz-Alejandro 1976;14). That is, there is little competition among producers, and they influence price and rate of output.

These resources are exploited almost exclusively by large, vertically integrated trans-national corporations who are covertly supported by their home governments. Over time these corporations have consolidated their pre-eminent position by hoarding deposits (attaining exclusive control of a resource), by limiting the diffusion of technology, and by establishing exclusive marketing networks. They have also been able to influence the market price by their use of buffer stocks and preferred-customer relationships. They have negotiated contracts with resource owners which minimize the trans-national corporation's costs of acquiring the mineral. Their favorable bargaining position has allowed them to capture the resource.

While the Navajo Nation owns the resources, it does not control their development. Navajo resources have always been managed by the BIA. It, as most colonial governments, has not endeavored to obtain the most favorable contract terms even though it subscribes to revenue maximization as the primary goal of mineral exploitation. Having ultimate control, the BIA has consistently favored one method of exploiting Navajo resources, and that is to lease them to non-Indians.

There are two possible explanations for their choice of leasing. First, federal officials have always had a hard time distinguishing Indian resources from public resources. Since it is standard practice in the Department of Interior to lease minerals on public lands, BIA officials probably assumed what was good enough for the public was good enough for their Indian "wards." The fact that DOI has been criticized for giving away public resources to large corporations does not seem to have deterred Bureau officials. A second explanation is that the BIA chose this option because it was the easiest way of discharging its "responsibility."

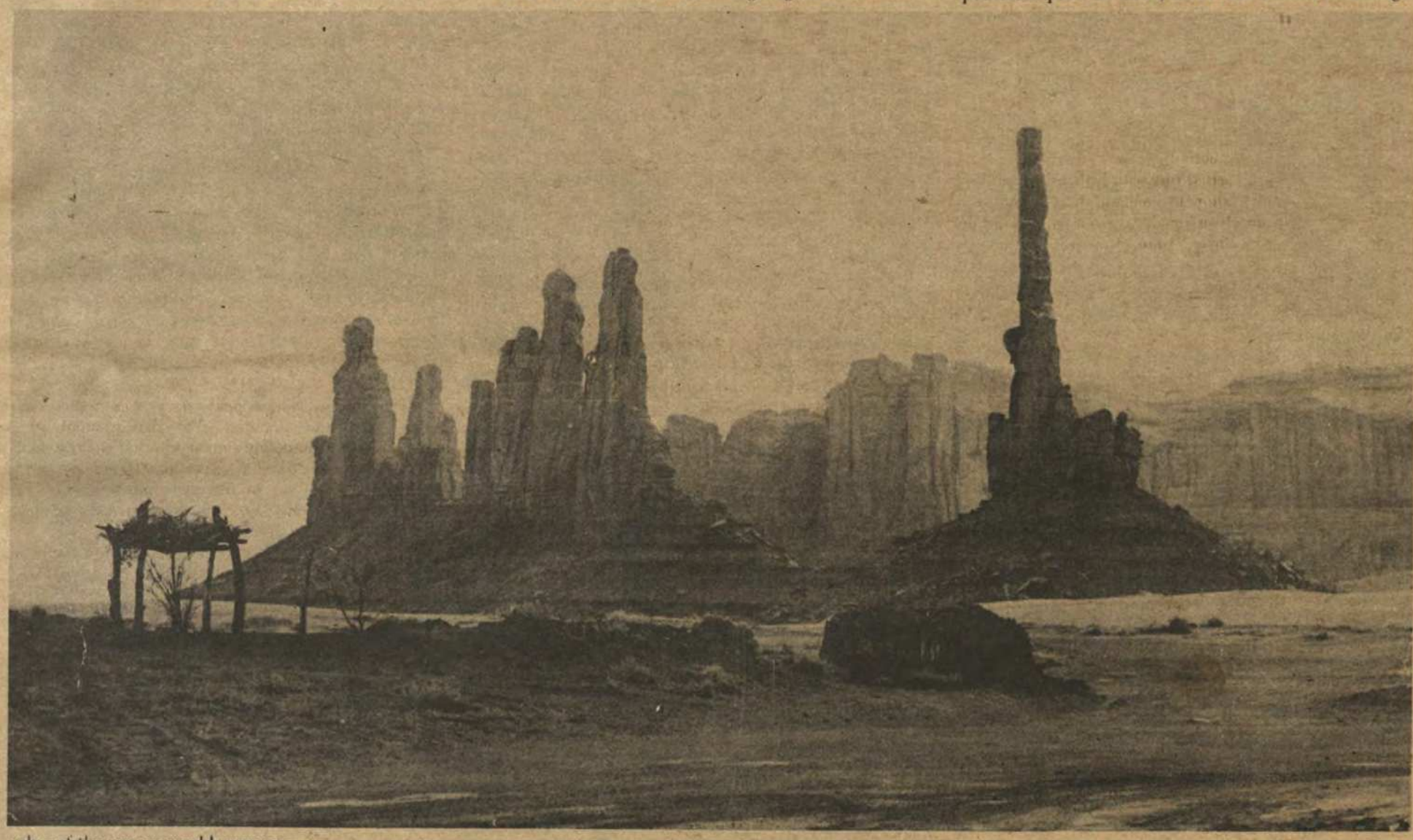
As long as the resources were generating some kind of revenue, BIA officials felt free from criticism. Indeed, BIA employees, unlike resource owners, had no incentive to maximize revenues. Consequently, the contracts they concluded, competitive bidding or negotiation, are among the worst ever made. Except for oil, the royalty rates were usually fixed in dollars per unit of the mineral produced rather than being a percentage of the value of production. Such royalties allow the mineral producers to capture most of the resource rent as well as appropriate any increase in the value of the non-renewable resource.

In four out of the five Navajo coal leases awarded between 1957 and 1965, the royalty was fixed between $.15 – .375 a ton. Coal currently is sold to utilities for $5 – 10 a ton. Thus resource rents range from 40% to 70% of the value of sales. Electricity then made from a ton of coal brings $150 to $200 when sold to utility customers. It is difficult to change these inequitable terms because there are no specific adjustment clauses in the leases. The leases are for "terms not to exceed ten years and as long hereafter as minerals are produced in paying quantities" (25 USCA 396a). This has been interpreted by mining companies to mean that the royalty is fixed as long as they are working the deposit. Thus, tribal lawyers have not been able to force trans-nationals to renegotiate. In addition to these defects, the leases contain profisions for environmental protection and preference for Indian hiring which are wholly inadequate. These provisions have been so vaguely worded that the lessee cannot be successfully prosecuted in court for non-compliance. More serious still, some leases contain waivers from tribal taxation. Thus the tribe has bargained away a method for adjusting low rents or royalties, i.e., imposing taxes.

the tribe and BIA officials lack adequate information about the extent of the deposits, the costs of edploration, production, and market prices. It is impossible without such information to determine the value of what the tribe owns. The BIA has never obtained a complete topographic mapping or geologic mapping of the Navajo Reservation, though the tribe did conduct a study of potential oil and gas reserves at its own expense. The United States Geological Service is supposed to advise the BIA on lease provisions. Without accurate surveys it is difficult to see how they can provide such advice.

The BIA lacks not only adequate mineral inventories but also the personnel with the necessary expertise to conduct contract negotiations. The BIA Navajo Area Office did not employ one geologist or mining engineer, nor does there exist a procedure for BIA personnel to exchange information with other BIA officials who are conducting similar negotiations. The Washington office of BIA has actually opposed the exchange of information, saying that "...tribes may believe that what has been obtained on one reservation could be obtained on their reservation without giving consideration to differing circumstances... also (it would be) difficult and expensive to establish such a system" (NAVAJO TIMES, 1/27/77:10).

Because tribal and BIA officials are poorly prepared to handle direct negotiations with companies, there has been a preference for competitive bidding. However, the one coal lease obtained through competitive bidding was actually worse than those obtained by direct negotiation in that the royalty was fixed at $.15 – .20 per ton. Competitive bidding has not proved any more effective in obtaining better terms because of the small number of bidders. Large bonus payments and lack of geological information could deter small mining companies from participating. There is a positive relation between the number of bids and the bid price (Mead 1977:654; Ruffing 1977:10).



RENEWABLE RESOURCES

The Navajo Nation is actively attempting to control and develop its renewable resources: timber, agricultural land, and water. The timber resources are being exploited by a vertically integrated tribal enterprise, the Navajo Forest Products Industry (NFPI). The tribal agricultural land is in its initial stages of development with 20,000 of a potential 110,000 acres in production. It is under the management of another tribal enterprise, the Navajo Agricultural Products Industry.

The success of this enterprise is dependent on securing the necessary capital and expertise as well as 508,000 acre feet of water. It may yet fall into the hands of agribusiness. Some 37,600 acre feet of tribal water has been given or sold to energy producers.

As early as 1888 a sawmill was built to exploit the timber resources which include 439,402 acres of poderrosa pine. In 1958, NFPI was created to manage this resource. It began a process of vertical integration to control all phases of lumber production. In 1962 it built a modern sawmill which includes a bark processing plant, a millwork, and a cut-stock plant. It has expanded several times and it even spawned the creation of the new town of Navajo. The latest addition was a $5 million particle borad plant which enables NFPI to make use of its waste products. Capital assets now total $25 million.

The chief advantage of NFPI is that it has allowed the Navajo Nation to capture the value-added in processing its timber rather than merely selling it as stumpage. For example, in 1974 42000 MBd.Ft. of timber was harvested and the Tribe received $2.8 million in stumpage payments. This was then processed by NFPI and sold for $10.5 million. The difference between sales and stumpage is the value-added from processing. In addition the mill paid $3 million in wages and earned $2.9 million in profits which it reinvested. Employment grows steadily and in 1977 NFPI provided jobs for 614 Navajos. The economic gains (instead of drains) are the direct result of tribal control and vertical integration.

The fact that the Tribe has been able to control and develop its timber resources is explained by several factors. First, the capital investment was modest, $8.5 million in tribal funds for the sawmill, $5 million from EDA for the particle board plant. Second and probably most important, it is a small operation and did not provoke opposition from the giants of the lumber industry (Aberle 1969:253). In fact many of them even provided technical assistance. Lastly, the Tribe was able to buy enough technical expertise which keeps the plant on a steady expansion path.

While no massive transfers of value are taking place in the timber industry, it is true that its production again serves the needs of the center. Very little use is made of Navajo timber within the Navajo economy even though there has been considerable activity in housing construction. There is some talk of building pre-fabricated housing but there has been no real commitment to developing this linkage. Productivity and wages are high within the timber industry and so it supports another group of elite workers.

Commercial Agriculture

Tribal attempts to develop commercial agricultural land have been frustrated for a century. The Navajos have been waiting for the completion of an irrigation project on the San Juan River which would allow them to put 110,000 acres into production. Feasibility studies were prepared between 1945 and 1955. In the interim, a proposal was made for the diversion of water from the San Juan to the Chama River to serve the growing city of Albuquerque.

The Navajo dam and reservoir were completed at a cost of $$22.8 million. The reservoir is the principal source of water to serve the irrigation project. Work on the canals from the reservoir to the reservation was delayed for *twenty years* because once the political and business interests of Albuquerque had what they wanted from the Navajo people, their interest in seeking further appropriations faded.

In 1971 a new Navajo tribal government brought renewed pressure on New Mexico's congressional delegation and appropriations picked up. The first 10,000 acres of land received water and were planted to barley, milo, oats, corn, alfalfa, and winter wheat in 1976. Ten thousand acres are to be added each year until 110,000 acres are developed, but it is questionable if the Tribe will be able to secure the water, capital, and technical assistance to successfully complete a project of this size themselves.

The Tribe has legal rights to 508,000 acre feet of water, but the Bureau of Reclamation is attempting to limit them to 226,000 acre feet, an amount the Bureau considers sufficient to irrigate 110,000 acres. If limited to this amount, which has not been proved sufficient for irrigation purposes for this particular project, the Navajos would be left without water for processing foodstuffs. Thus, they would forego considerable value-added from their agricultural products which would undoubtedly be captured by multinational food corporations.

Planning the development of the project has rested until recently in the hands of the BIA. Original BIA plans envisioned 1120 farms for Navajo families, providing employment opportunities for 9000 Navajos. However, on the advice of the New Mexico State University agronomists, this family farm design was changed in the late 1960s to a single, large scale agricultural unit managed by a tribal enterprise which would produce crops which would bring the highest net return, would develop a large scale livestock (cattle feedlot) component, and develop processing and finished product operations. Estimates for financing such a project range from $268 million to $400 million. It would employ 6000 laborers, 10% of whom would need university degrees. The difficulty of developing such a costly, complex project almost insures that it will fail or at the very least fall into the hands of a California food corporation.

More serious still is that the way the project is currently organized will only increase Navajo dependency. As in the other sectors, all production is geared to outside needs. There is no thought of making the Navajo Nation self-sufficient in foodstuffs. The goal of NMSU advisors, which was accepted by tribal officials, is to maximize returns. The project might make a profit in the long run, but that will not necessarily raise the nutritional level of the Navajo people – instead it will be another example of a protein deficit area exporting protein.

The reason profit maximization has become the overriding goal is that there is an immediate need to finance project operations as well as justify its magnitude. If the project were scaled down or developed in more easily financed stages there would be less pressure of this type. However, one cannot deny that export earnings will be important in financing the operations of the project.

The dual goals of obtaining export earnings and self-sufficiency in foodstuffs are not necessarily in conflict. Crops can be planted which satisfy local needs and which would do well in the export market. Once internal consumption needs have been met, excess land can be devoted to raising export crops.

The project also suffers from the fact that there are no linkages to the rest of the economy. It would provide an excellent opportunity to increase the productivity in the traditional sector through extension services, lamb feedlots, and marketing services. Unfortunately, these aspects of the project are not priority items.

Manufacturing Sector

The attempt to industrialize reservations began in 1955 when the BIA initiated a program to attract footloose industry. The objective was not to develop self-sufficient economies but merely to provide jobs. Non-Indian industries were offered various incentives to locate on the reservations: subsidized wage bill, free land, plant, and equipment. In return, the industries were supposed to supply working capital and management.

In 1971 Sorkin evaluated this program and found that one in five firms failed because of inexperienced management and lack of capital. Three years later he found that the plants employed more non-Indians (9390) than Indians (6173), thereby completely defeating the purpose of the program.

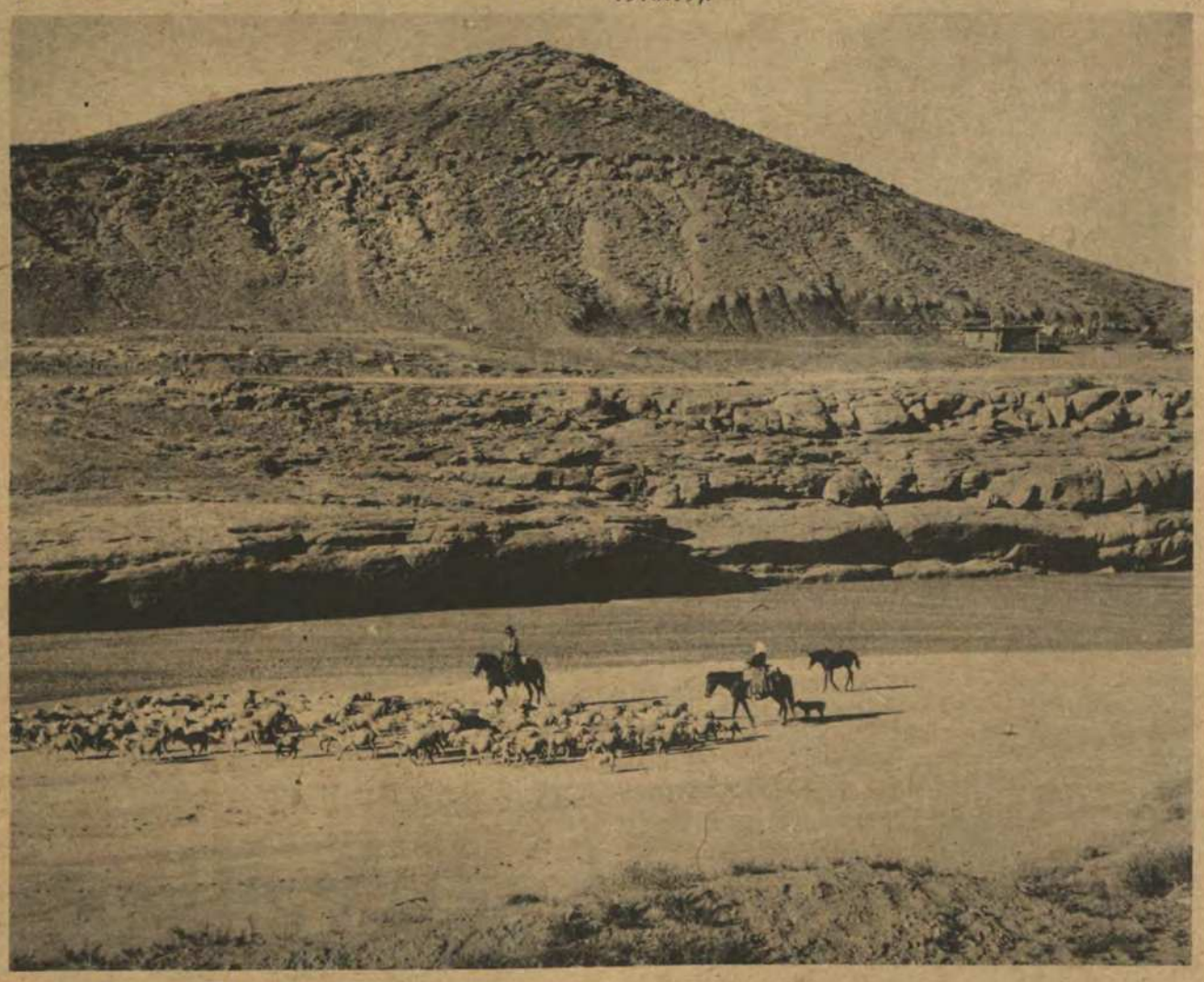
High labor turnover could be explained by lack of economic incentives or by lack of necessary work habits and attitudes. This could be determined only by an attitudinal survey. It should be mentioned that conflicts between industrial work routines and reservation time patterns have been solved in a few reservation plants. One study found that monthly wages were only slightly higher than welfare benefits for a woman with four dependents. Possibly, some women tried factory work, but without psychological or economic incentives, there was little reason to work both in the factory and at home. Unfortunately, employment and income data are not available by type of plant (non-Indian or tribal) so it is impossible to determine if the situation is any better in Indian plants.

In 1966 the Economic Development Administration (EDA) supplemented BIA's effort to industrialize the reservation. EDA's program is more comprehensive than BIA's since it funds water and sewer development, industrial parks, business loans, planning and technical assistance. However, it too has tended to concentrate on attracting footloose industry to the reservation.

After an eleven year effort, EDA and the Tribe have been able to attract only one permanent footloose industry, General Dynamics. At least four others have come and gone (Fairchild Semiconductor, Navajo Trailer, Silver Fox Dessicants, Hewlett Packard. The history of the entry and exit of Fairchild Semiconductor is illustrative of the futility of trying to attract non-Industry. EDA and the Tribe provided facilities for Fairchild at the cost of $3,301,267. Tribal interest payments on business loans from EDA and foregone interest on tribal funds exceeded Fairchild's rental payments but at one time the plant employed at least 1200 Navajos with an annual wage bill of $6 million.

In the early 1970s, the company was adversely affected by the slowdown in defense spending and by the 1974 recession. In 1975 they radically reduced their labor force and American Indian Movement demonstrators occupied the plant in protest. This provided the company with the perfect pretext for closing down operations. Footloose industries are wholly dependent on the economic conditions of the center. They set up branch plants during periods of expansion and can close them down just as easily during contractions because they have little invested in the operation.

The Navajos have no control over these decisions even though they have their scarce funds tied up in buildings and equipment. As Aberle has said, "The (Fairchild) episode supplies further evidence that these industries were exotic growths... unrelated to the assets of the region, with minimal stakes in Navajo land" (Aberle 1976:19).



Footloose industries will always remain transitory because there is no way they can implant themselves successfully in the Navajo economy. The Navajo internal market is too small to support them and national markets are too remote. Manufacturing operations with the best chance for survival are triabl enterprises which use local resources and sell to local and regional markets. EDA recently began to examine the characteristics of plants that fail. They found the lowest failure rate among tribally-owned resource-based industries. Tribal planners now appear open to such development. They realize that the footloose industry program was a federal policy which did not serve their needs but the center's.

To date the only successful tribal manufacturing enterprise using local resources is NFPI. There is talk of expanding teh operations to include furniture-making and prefabricated housing, which would allow the Navajos to capture an even greater share of value-added as well as create linkages with the commercial and construction sectors. However, the furniture plant was 29th out of 32 on the Navajo Tribal Economic Development Priority List. Sewer systems and cultural centers outranked it. Unless the Tribe reorders priorities in favor of job-generating and value capturing enterprises, its goal of full employment and self-sufficiency will remain illusory. Nowhere on the list is an enterprise to process Navajo wool even though the Tribe has been sorting and marketing it since 1971. Numerous studies have pointed to the gains from selling scoured wool and yarn rather than raw wool. The profits from the sale of scoured wool and yarn would be $238,275; Navajo wages $209,900, and Navajo weaver's savings from buying wool from the Tribe rather than the trader would be $1.5 million. The total social gain would be $2.0 million versus $302,390 from selling raw wool.

Perhaps the lack of tribal interest derives from a lack of commitment to the development of traditional activities. While the Tribe is perfectly capable of hiring the expertise to set up scouring operations in the abandoned Fairchild building, they are talking about a joint venture to, run the operation. The fact that guidance of private enterprise is necessary when they can hire all the technical assistance they need and pocket the profits, is again symptomatic of their ideological dependence on the center.

The traditional economy could be further bolstered by links with commercial agriculture (feedlots), by spin-offs activities (slaughter houses), and by processing activities (meatpacking, tanneries, leather goods factories).

"Where the problem of development is concerned the practical interest of this distinction is substantial. Let us imagine a society made up of 1000 men living in a certain territory and having at their disposal equipment inherited from the labor of their forefathers. 990 of them make 300 units of clothing, 100 units of housing, and 1000 units of foodstuffs, while the other 10 devote their time to organizing this activity. Let us now think of the same society, but with only 500 individuals ingaged in making 150 units of clothing, 50 units of housing, and 500 units of foodstuffs, while the other 500 spend their time and effort on organizing society. The parasitic nature of a section of these people stands out plainly. This is concealed because contemporary statisticians do not shrink from alleging that the 'wealth' of the two societies is absolutely equal!" (Amin 1974 I:183).

The situation is even more precarious for the Navajo Nation. It is not just a simple case of having a large percentage of the population in unproductive jobs. More important is the fact that these jobs are dependent on federal funds. The expansion in the service sector occurred between 1975 and 1976 (tribal employment jumped from 3430 to 6715) largely as a result of the Comprehensive Training and Employment Act.

A recent study, The Structure of Employment in the Navajo Nation, analyzes the transitory nature of most of the actual jobs. It found that federal and state funds provided 57.7% of all jobs, non-Navajo enterprises provided another 29.3%. Revenues earned by the Tribe, its tribal enterprises and by Navajo entrepreneurs supported just 13.0% of all jobs. The latter figure was suggested as a measure of the degree of self-sufficiency of the Navajo Nation. The study concluded that a greater degree of self-sufficiency could be achieved only if an increased flow of financial resources were invested in the creation of physical capital for the Navajo people to work with

Hopefully, the author meant by this that the Navajo Nation should begin to invest its scarce revenues in job generating enterprises, ie. buildings and equipment, but *not* in physical infrastructure. All to often in underdeveloped countries, the government invests in infrastructure while foreigners invest in the productive activities. It is extremely important that the Navajo Nation expand and control productive activities so that they can capture the profits and re-invest them rather than forfeit them to the center. It would not be advisable for the Tribe to sink their scarce funds into non-profit producing infrastructure.

The priority list does not contain any of these (though the Office of Program Development has done feasibility studies on them) but includes a pellet mill, fertilizer plant, sacking operation and granary which would process the products from commercial agriculture. The bias against traditional activities in favor of modern and capital intensive ones is again evident. Probably, these recommendations are prompted by the political necessity to use their entitlement to the 508,000 acre feet of water before the surrounding communities lay claim to it. NAPI does have great potential to generate jobs, bolster the traditional economy, and increase local self-sufficiency by raising and processing foodstuffs for the Navajos and the regional market. The continued expansion of timber, livestock and agriculture into processing activities will create linkages between the various sectors of the Navajo economy, increasing the multiplier effect and decreasing the drain to border towns. Service Sector

Between 1975-76, approximately 2800 Navajos entered the labor force, an increase of 5% (BIA Labor Force Reports). Total unemployment and underemployment was 66.9% in 1975. The productive sectors of the Navajo economy were clearly unable to absorb this increase in the labor force or the large number of under and unemployed because they were either growing slowly, stagnating or atrophying. The non-renewable resource sector provided jobs for less than 5% of the Navajo labor force. Employment remains low because extractive activities are capital intensive and there is little vertical integration on the reservation. The activities are controlled by non-Navajo corporations which sell their output as unprocessed fuels.

The rapid expansion of commercial agriculture is hampered by insufficient capital and managerial skills. The forest products industry, though expanding continuously, is a small operation and cannot provide enough jobs for the growing labor force. Manufacturing activities have declined drastically due to reliance on footloose industry and processing industries using local resources remain undeveloped. Construction at its peak never employed more than 5.6% of the Navajo labor force. Construction activity fluctuates widely depending on regional needs and federal funds. Navajos have also been consistently discriminated against in this field. In 1974 Navajos held 32% of construction hobs on the reservation; 1975 – 37%; 1976 – 33%; 1977 – 58% Wholesale and retail trade continue to provide few jobs due to competition from border towns.

As a result of stagnation in the productive sectors, the public sector has become the catch-all for the growing labor force. Seventy-five Navajos out of every 100 employed Navajos are employed in public service jobs. Productive activities make some material contribution to society. Service activities make no such contribution though some might be necessary for production.

NARRAGANSETT CLAIM NEARS SETT EMENT

On September 12, 1978, the U.S. House of Representatives approved a settlement which will return to the Narragansett people control of 1900 acres of land in what is known on the maps as the southern Rhode Island. The land, which is near Charlestown, R.I., is land which was formerly owned by the Narragansett Nation but which has been claimed by the State of Rhode Island since the last century. The settlement is the result of a lawsuit brought by the Narragansetts to regain 3200 acres of land which they stated had been illegally taken from them.

The development is predicted to have an impact on Native land claims in other regions. There are about 20 Native land claims in states from Maine to Louisiana involving some 11 million acres which Native people are claiming was illegally taken from them. Non-Indians who are occupying that land are nervous about the cloud of uncertainty which has engulfed their land titles and which has effected municipal bond sales and real estate dealings in some of the areas.

The agreement returns 1900 acres of land to the Indians. Some 1000 acres will be surrendered by the State of Rhode Island, and an additional 900 acres will be purchased from private owners from $3.5 million in federal funds. The arrangement provides that the land will be controlled by a state-chartered corporation which will by run by eight persons, five chosen by the Indians, and three chosen by the state. Nine-tenths of the land will be subject to permanent conservation, with some 225 acres open to development. Any proposed development must be approved by the new corporation and the town of Charlestown.

The Senate had approved the agreement in July. It is expected that President Carter will sign shortly, that the Rhode Island Legislature will approve the corporation early next year, and that the whole procedure will be settled by spring. It is the first settlement which involves a land transfer on the basis of a land claim this year.

Many of the other land claims are based on the Indian Nonintercourse Act of 1790 by which state and local governments were forbidden to purchase or otherwise acquire land from the Indian peoples without congressional approval. Court decisions on the claims have been unpredictable, costly, and time consuming. Earlier this year, a jury in Massachusetts, faced with the legal implications of a claim brought by the Wampanoag, found that the Wampanoags had, at some point, disappeared into history and that their claim was invalid because no Wampanoags exist who can legitimately press the claim. In most other cases, the process is at some stage of non-judicial dispute settlement because neither Indians nor non-Indians are quite willing to settle their differences at the quixotic whims of the courts.

The Narragansett claim was based on occurances in 1880 when the Rhode Island legislature paid them $5000 and declared the tribe defunct. State officials say that the purchase was made at the request of some Narragansetts who wanted to escape reservation life. But the legislation apparently lacked the required congressional approval, and was illegal under the terms of the 1790 non-Intercourse Act. Today Charlestown officials say there are fewer than 100 Narragansetts remaining in the town, with perhaps another 400 or 500 scattered throughout the country. But the Narragansetts say that they are 1000 strong. They say that they need a land base, and that, had they put the matter to the courts, they could have lost completely. They didn't want to take the chance, they say, and so they settled out of court.

An Indian Kind Of Thing

MIDWIFE EPORT

The practice of home birthing is illegal in New York State, although it is practiced to some extent on the sovereign territories of the Six Nations. Indeed, home birthing is not only a practice which is seen as a positive one, it is arguably one of the practices which helps to keep the Native culture alive and strong. The following is the text of an interview with two Native women, Eintion and Gai ha ta, which we are presenting in the hopes that it may stimulate some thinking and some understanding about the processes which, it will be seen, go far beyond the questions associated with the physical processes of childbirth.

N: What kinds of needs do you see in the Indian communities among Indian women, and especially among pregnant women?

E: I think that on the reservations, a lot of women are not even aware that you have to prepare yourself before even thinking about having a baby. They are not aware of such things as how to take care of yourself before you become pregnant, or of what kinds of Indian medicines there are.

G: In order to get back to the Natural Way. I call it towards being more self-sufficient. Having more awareness of yourself and realizing that you can be stronger.

E: Today, according to the statistics on the reservations, many Indians have diabetes or something else wrong with them. I'm sure that on the reservations, Indian women haven't been taking care of themselves like they did a long time a go. Going back to the old ways and training them to prepare for child-bearing – that way you can start training them to be a good strong people again.

N: What do they need to be looking at in the area of health?

E: One of the things that we are trying to do is to find all these Indian people who know all the Indian medicines. If you are not taking care of yourself while you are pregnant, or even before, naturally the child is not going to be healthy. The better you take care of yourself, the healthier baby you are going to have.

N: What do you mean by taking care of yourself?

G: We are talking mainly about diet – nutrition. Many people do eat junk food – a lot of sweets, a lot of chips, soda, instant foods. A lot of people lack bulk or fiber in their diet. Women who are taking dope or smoking marijuana or something like that need to realize that naturally that is going to affect their child. Women might be thinking right now that they are having fun, but actually they are not thinking about that baby.

N: What about the use of alcohol?

G: Alcohol has been proven in a study to be a direct toxicant to the fetus. As soon as alcohol is consumed, it goes immediately to the baby.

N: Did this emphasis on nutrition come from peoples' concerns about women's health during pregnancy? Is that the origin of this concern?

G: Nutrition is very critical during pregnancy, but it is very important for everybody else, also. Just everybody – the whole Indian population – everybody is suffering from something all the time because of improper diet. It is all part of a circle – home birthing is a part of taking care of yourself. So is growing your own food. Living the right way. Not buying all this junk at the store.

G: Yes. Returning to the ways that our people used. They had far fewer emergencies because their bodies were in better condition. They took care of themselves. We are trying to return to that way.

N: Isn't it true that you use some things, perhaps medical instruments, that come out of the Western medical bag? Is the object to use what is available?

E: Yes, because that is what we know now. But all the time, we are constantly trying to learn other things. We are always looking for other people to tell us things.

N: What is it that you see about the modern hospital system that you find objectionable?

E: For one thing, it is very impersonal. Most doctors and nurses view the birthing process like a job. It's not the same as with personal friends. With the majority of them, it is more like you are a part on the assembly line. The doctor will come in, and you will see this one doctor through your pregnancy. When you go into the hospital for the delivery, you are lucky sometimes if this particular doctor is even there to deliver your baby.

G: When the average Indian woman goes to a clinic, she sees whichever doctor is on duty at the time. There is no kind of a personal relationship.

One of the things that is very important to us is the infant bonding which should take place. When you are in a hospital, that baby is born and they have you laying there, sometimes you are even tied down. The baby is born and they take it past you and you see it and immediately it is way off on the other side of the room. Then they do all this testing. Then they bring it to you, and they show it to you. Once in a while somebody will let you hold it for a couple of minutes. Then it is whisked off to the nursery and you go lay down someplace in a recovery room. And then they take you to a room and every few hours you get your baby when you are nursing. If it is on the bottle, you get your baby about once every four hours.

N: Then what is the process of infant bonding?

G: It's a process where you put the baby to the mother immediately so they can feel each other. It is important that mother and baby get better feelings towards each other because that baby is very aware when it is first born.

N: Why do you feel that is so important?

G: I guess some mothers just never get attached to their babies. For a lot of people, having a baby is really a new thing to them, and they have trouble adjusting to it.

E: Right now, the society is changing. A lot of the white ladies are nursing their babies, while a lot of Indian women on the reservations still think that's old fashioned and are ashamed to do it. There are only a few reservations throughout the Six Nations where the women are even doing this. If we could get the women into just nursing again, that naturally brings about healthier babies.

N: I can see that quite a few people, when they hear this message, are going to think that what is being talked about here is some kind of health formula. When some people begin to think about this Indian medicine, their first thought is going to be that this involves going out and finding some herbs or something, and that those things will act as a kind of detoxicant to the alcohol or marijuana or potato chips. I wonder if you could talk about that.

E: That's another thing. You have to have respect for these things that you are using and to take care of yourself at the same time. But if you abuse yourself and then expect these medicines to help you, you've got the wrong idea.

If you start from when you are pregnant, or even before, to have a good balanced diet, you can be pretty positive about having a healthy child. This way your other children are going to be healthy, your husband is going to be healthy. Through adequate diet and exercise, your whole Indian population – the on-coming generations – are going to be healthy. Hopefully, if we can start reaching all Indian women, especially young people now who are expectant parents, then the next generation will be a lot healthier and when the statistics come out in the future, you won't hear about too much marijuana and about people being diabetic.

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N: Is the mother's milk a more whole food for the baby than anything else?

G: Oh, it definitely is! One man was telling us, take pasteuried milk for instance, if you took that milk and fed it to a baby cow, it would die. So many things have been taken out of it. But within the mother's milk, there are natural immunities that will benefit the baby.

N: Right now. I can see an effort on reservations to encourage Indian women to get more prenatal care. What kinds of things constitute prenatale Care? What do Indian women need to know about previous to the birth?

E: While you are pregnant, you should be getting check-ups as a doctor would give any woman. During your pregnancy, you should be getting a well-balanced diet and getting plenty of rest.

G: There's more to it than that, too. There's the spiritual part of it. It involves the feelings that we all have for the medicines that we use.

E: Being traditionally minded, and having a respect for these medicines, you'll naturally have more of a respect for your body and all the things that surround you.

G: And there's also the support from your family, and your community.

N: Then what are the things a woman who is pregnant should be paying attention to?

G: She should be eating a lot of protien, and vegetables. Milk isn't really that necessary for the mother. There are a lot of Indians who are unable to take milk. One thing that I found out was that one of the reasons that our people had no need for milk was because of the use of corn. Of course, they didn't have domesticeted cows. Most Indian people prepared corn with hardwood ashes, and that combination supplied them with the calcium they needed.

N: What kinds of things should a woman be really careful to avoid?

E: All kinds of sweet things – refined flour and sugar...

N: Fried bread?

E: Well, you can't exactly stay away from fried bread! But you can ease up on junk foods like chips, soda, and cofee, tea. Women in pregnancy need to keep their iron supply up. They need a lot of iron. Molasses is a good source of that. If a woman wants something sweet, instead of going out and buying a cake, she could have just a piece of bread or toast or something and dip it in molasses.

N: Store-bought molasses?

That's about all you can get these days, unless you can find real molasses. But molasses is very good.

N: A lot of people will find the idea of home birthing quite frightening.

E: I didn't find it frightening. When I made up my mind to have a home birthing, I just figured that our people had always done this, for thousands. My mother had a lot of children and she had most of them to home. She never had any problem. But then, a long time ago, people knew how to take care of themselves. The main thing I would stress to any woman is to start thinking about preventive medicine.

I'm sure all women who have had a baby have experienced a period of discomfort in the hospitals. When you have your baby at home, you get to know the person who is delivering your baby. You feel closer to that person. Having it to home, your family can come there, and you are more relaxed.

G: We have a personal relationship with everybody that we have helped. We have only helped people that we personally know.

N: I see a really startling increase in the number of cesarian births in hospitals in recent years.

G: I heard it is because it saves them (doctors) time. I have read recently that some women who have delivered by cesarian have later delivered vaginally, afterwards. The reason for cesarian is supposed to be that some women's pelvis structure won't accommodate childbirth.

G: Another thing that is important with us is that personal thing between ourselves so that everybody is comfortable with each other and everybody has confidence in each other. That makes the mother more relaxed and her labor is that much easier. She can do more because she feels more comfortable.

We take our time and go through the whole period of labor. We are with her constantly. When you are in a hospital they throw you in a room and they come in every 15 or 20 minutes and they take your blood pressure and then they go back out. In most places, you go through the whole thing all by yourselv. It's just been in the last couple of years where they have been changing a little bit and they do allow people – maybe the husband or somebody – to stay with them. This way we are with them constantly and we go through every stage of it together. We help them, massage them, and talk with them, sometimes we even have a few jokes you know – you can get that comfortable that you can laugh.

With one woman, her man was there, and two of her brothers and her mother. There were eight of us there and everybody was very happy. It was a very good feeling.

N: One of the things people say about the hospital birthing process is that it is geared to the convenience of the doctor and not to the needs of the patient.

E: Right. What they do is that after the woman waits her time out, then some nurse will come in and decide that she is ready. Then they wheel her to the delivery room. Then they call the doctor. Sometimes he gets there in time, but there have been more than enough instances where he did not get there in time and whoever was there had to do it. Sometimes even the nurses.

So he comes in, and she's not quite ready yet so right away he will cut and take the baby out. And then he pushes his fist in the mother's stomach, as hard as he can, to force the placenta out. If you take your time and stay with the mother, it is a natural process. The mother will contract and the body will expell that. Then off the doctor goes, and maybe she will see him the next day when he makes his rounds. Probably vetinarians spend more time with their patients.

G: Vetinarians are usually very compassionate people!

E: For the home delivery, the way we've been doing it, we are with them from the minute their labor starts until usually 24 to 28 hours afterwares. In a hospital, there's no way that you're going to get that kind of personal care. If you had the money, you might be able to get a private nurse to come in, you know. And we don't charge anything, because the way I feel, I'm doing something for my people.

G: And I don't call it going forward, I think of it as returning to the natural way...

E:... Returning to the natural ways that the Creator put us here for. He put the medicines here, and everyghing, but He didn't put a price on it, you know! You should never put a price on a woman's life or an infant's life.

N: What you're talking about here isn't simply the process of birthing.

G: Oh no, it's a lot more than that.

E: When you get involved, there's a million and one things you have to start thinking about and start learning. We've been doing this for four years now, and we still haven't learned as much as we want to learn. Probably all of our lives we will still be learning.

N: One of you is from Ganienkeh, and I know from experience that Ganienkeh is one of the poorest, in monetary terms, of any Indian communities in North America. Most birthing problems occur in communities with low income. Yet Ganienkeh, with among the lowest per capita incomes of all, doesn't share the negative health statistics. Why is that?

E: Naturally, when we go to the grocery store, we have to ask ourselves what kinds of things are our children going to benefit from. When you only have a little bit of money, you can't go out and get a gallon of ice cream and a bag of chips. Some people would give their kids soup out of a can or a baloney sandwich or something like that. But we have to think of the best meal we can get for the little money we have. When you have the least amount of money, you are naturally going to buy some kind of a meat, or fresh vegetables. We are trying to get back to things that are more natural. In Ganienkeh, we have our own animals that we do butcher – our own cows and pigs – and naturally they are not injected with all these chemicals. And we raise our own gardens.

N: Isn't it true that not only do a log of store-bought foods contain chemicals which are not natural to that food, but that many foods do not contain the vitamins that they should contain?

E: If you know what teas to take, and all that, you can get most of your vitamins that way. Before the white man came, we didn't always have orange joice and milk and all that kind of stuff. When you go to a doctor, he gives you your prenatal pills with all the vitamins and iron and all that. A long time ago, they didn't have all these pills. They knew that if you go out and make a certain tea, that's your vitamin C right there. We try to get back to the natural teas. It's got all those vitamins in there. You don't have to live on this exact diet the way this doctor is telling you. If you know which teas to take you can get the things your body needs.

N: And how do you find out which teas to take?

E: People from their own territories have to go to their own old people and ask.

G: You have to ask all the old people, wherever you find them. That's the problem – people don't listen to them. They know a lot of things. That's what we're trying to do – to get help from the old people. We have asked a lot of people a lot of things. We've been really lucky that they've been willing to help us. People are glad to see what we are oing.

N: What you are saying is that one of the very helpful tools is access to knowledge that the old people have is very useful in the process of birthing.

G: Right. We do use some things, like we use a blood pressure cuff, fetusscope, and stethoscope. We were very fortunate that we found people who were willing to teach us how to use these things.

E: We need to use these things now because we just got into this. Some of those old ladies who have been doing this for years and years can just hold a baby and they will know all the vital sighs just by the feel. They've been into it so long that they can just feel a baby and know if there is anything wrong.

N: I can see that people who are looking into the advantages of home birthing are going to see right away that it is a lot cheaper than going into a hospital.

G: Well, I don't think we want to deal with people who have that thought first. We just don't want to hear that.

E: No, that's not our bag right now, to help people to save money.

G: We have no thoughts about money at all.

N: Did you have problems getting people to begin to think about home birthings, or did that just sort of happen?

E: In Ganienkeh, it was sort of a necessity. Being a poor community, and trying to get back to the old ways, there's no way we would even think of sending our people to the hospital. The first women who were pregnant in Ganienkeh wanted their babies to be born at home. They were so into going back to the old ways that they were the ones who said, 'I'm having my baby at home.' They asked the older women who knew a little bit about it to help them, and from there, that's when I started learning. But for our people to do it because you save money – that's not what's in the Indian women's mind.

G: Not with the people we have dealt with.

E: It's because they want this. They are so traditionally minded, and becoming aware of the coming generation and of themselves. This is why they ask for it. When you go into a hospital, they try to dope you up so much that you are not even aware of the whole process of having a baby, and most women don't even know what it's all about. Having a baby to home, having it naturally, and having to go through what you go through, and having your husband there and having your family there – naturally you're going to become more attached to your children.

G: A lot of women we've talked to have had lots of children and they don't even know what's going on. They don't know what happened or anything. A lot of them.

N: What you seem to be talking about here requires an element of support to it which is missing in a lot of communities. A lot of people don't have supportive communities, or even supportive neighbors, and there

are a lot of births in which the father isn't there, or isn't even living with the woman. What you are talking about would seem to be something more available to people who are living in a real community. The more tightly a community is developed, the more supportive and the more integrated that whole process can be.

E: yes. You are making a stronger family by having your baby to home. It adds to that family just getting nice and tight.

G: One of the strong things is the community support. It gives us a lot of confidence when we know that the people community are supporting us. It really makes a lot of difference to us.

N: Do you encourage men to participate?

G: Oh sure, we expect them all to be there! If they can handle it. It's really good for them to see. And realize. Because they are just as much a part of this as the mother is.

E: I think having a man there, having him see what his wife, what his woman, is going through, having his child – he's actually going through everything she's going through, maybe even more so. In turn, he comes to have more feelings for his wife, for his child. And naturally, it's going to make that family closer, very close.

N: So there is a lot of bonding going on.

E: There certainly is! There is a great deal of bonding. On the reservations and all over, you have situations where the men are always leaving their wives, leaving their children, things like that. If more people were having home deliveries, and seeing this, they would know that this is a great feeling, a beautiful feeling. All fathers should be part of it. It's so natural.

G: Yes. And the father isn't just there – he's always active – helping us. He's always doing something, comforting the mother – we always keep them very busy helping. It always really makes a difference when the father is there.

E: He sees that his wife is having a backache, and that is hurting her back, so he's going to start rubing her back, and he's helping too. In every aspect of the whole birthing, he's there and he's doing his share. He sees what his wife is going through so naturally he's going to help her in every wat that he can.

N: What kinds of things can you say to people who are in places where home birthings are not presently practiced. If they have an interest, how do they get started?

G: Well, right now they could probably start by reading whatever they could get their hands on about it, and they coul start talking to the older poeple about it.

They might even try talking to the older people first, to find out what kinds of things they do, or would do.

N: They'll probably be discouraged.

G: Yeah, there will be some people who will say, "Oh, don't do that or you'll get arrested!" That's how they stopped them from doing it before. When the public health clinics first came around, they arrested some midwifes for delivering babies at home – they said it was illegal, which it still is, I think.

E: Moreso in New York State than in any other state. Also, to discourage them, they are going to say, "Oh, you should go to the hospital. It is cleaner, it's more sterile," and all that. Buf if you keep a child in too sterile surroundings, he is going to become sick as soon as he comes into contact with the "outside" world. At least in your own home, the child is immediately acclimated to his own natural surroundings. That way, you have a strong, healthy child. But if you try to be as sterile as a hospital, the child will suffer from the change in environment when he is moved home.

Bu' I'm not sure how you would really go about advising a woman on how to set up things for a home delivery.

G: Maybe she could get a group of people together that were interested in this thing, it would be much easier for a group of people to make some progress than it would be for one person alone trying to talk to a lot of people and to try to find supportive people.

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E: And she should try to find people who have already gone through this. Find women who have already had home deliveries to tell them what they went through and to tell them how they fell about it. If you talk to at least three women who have had home deliveries, you are going to feel that that's what you really want.

N: But what we are talking about is really a group effort as opposed to an individual effort?

G: Oh, definitely.

N: I can see where men would be resistant to taking part in this process. It is a heck of a lot easier to just send the woman off to the hospital and then kind of wait for the result.

G: Men should think about it. There are a lot of people these days who are starting to come around and become more aware of everything that is going on. They want to learn more about their people and more about their own ways. This is a good way to begin, because everything is based on their children. Within our society, everything is the children. It's the best way to start.

E: To get the men involved, they would need to speak to fathers who had been there. For a man to be a real good family man, I am sure that he would want to participate. I think it would be good to hear a point of view from a man who had witnessed delivery – either a father or another – to see what their feelings were about it. It's going to bring you that much closer to your wife, your family.

G: Just in the community it makes you closer. It's different from when you just see somebody with a baby and you say, "Oh, what a pretty baby!" But this kid, you were there when he got here, you know. And you really feel attached to him and the child really has a lot of meaning to you.

N: In traditional societies, the birthing process is a very powerful aspect of community life. That process was surrounded by a whole lot os spiritual ceremony which went with it, but it literally took a whole community to have a baby.

G: We have that. You wouldn't believe it. We have to have somebody at the door all the time. People keep coming. At strawberry time, a man kept dropping in to see if the woman had had the baby yet, and she hadn't, and he got back there in time with some strawberries and corn soup fo her. That was really good – to make her strong afterwards she had that strawberries.

N: Then we aren't just talking about getting rid of the doctors?

G: No. We're talking about bringing everybody, the whole community, into the process. The grandmother can be there, or the mother's best friend, or her brother or sister, or anybody.

E: For the midwife, it is a really good feeling, knowing that the community is backing you up. With everybody so involved, and wanting it to come out just right, that after the baby is born, it is a big victory, a celebration. I don't know how to put it, but the feeling is so great it's just like a big celebration – something you'll always remember.

G: A Birthday!

E: Yeah. A real Birth Day!

A thing that we left out is that, among our people, when the birthing starts, we always go to someone who burns tobacco and we have a tobacco burning for the mother and child, and for the midwifes, so that all is in the Creator's hands and we know everything is going well.

G: And we don't worry about birth certificates or anything because we see that if the mother needs anything like that, she can just get it from the chiefs' council. Nobody's had a problem with it yet.

N: I can see that a lot of people from all over the country may be interested in the things you've been talking about, and I wonder if you could say a few words to address a national audience.

E: Well, I feel right now that our best bet is to stick to our own Six Nations people. We intend to stay within our own communities and with people that we know are taking care of themselves. I feel that, legally, as long as we do it within our own groups, in our own territories, that we have no problems. For the next few years, we'd like to keep it that way – very limited. Before we would take anyone else, we would definitely want to know someone who knows them, and who can convince us that this is someone who has been taking care of themselves during their pregnancy. The thing that we try to keep away from is women that we think might have difficulties – you know, high risk pregnancy. There's no way that we are going to handle that.

G: If there's even the slightest doubt that there might be complications, we don't even bother with them.

N: By that you mean that you would be really reluctant to do anything with anybody who might be taking drugs or alcohol

G: Oh, definitely! That is completely out! That baby would probably need help – maybe oxygen or something. And at this point in time, we don't have anything like that.

E: Most people who are heavy into any drugs or anything like that, or is an unhealthy mother with heart trouble or diabetes – anything like that – we're not about to handle anything like that. Even at the hospitals, when they know of a high risk pregnancy, they'll transfer them to a special, larger hospital. And there they have to go into special high-risk clinics where they can get more constant care.

G: That's just not part of our thing anyway – to deal with somebody who is going to abuse themselves. They just don't have the right kind of a mind.

E: So naturally, we don't feel that they would be strong at that time when you need to be strong and self-confident.

And as long as I don't know the person, there is no way that I would deliver their baby, or even consider it.

N: Okay, I think I understand your attitude towards abuse of drugs, be that marijuana or speed or something like that. But what about people who are using who are using medically prescribed drugs, like tranquilizers?

G: That's just included right with it. Drugs are drugs. Some people feel that they have to take an aspirin every little while. The main thing is to have good health and to make yourself strong without using all these things.

E: We are skeptical of anybody who is dependent on anything at all, even a simple aspirin. When you are having a baby, it takes a lot of work and you need to be in complete control of yourself. If somebody needs something, there's no way that we're going to give it to her. We're so strict that even if a woman asks for a cigarette, we're not about to give her a cigarette. She just doesn't get it.

We asked Eintion to interview a man who had just become a father and who had witnessed the birthing.

E: As a father who has just wintessed the birthing of his first child, would you recommend this to other families?

F: It would depend on the kind of person it was. I don't think it is for everyone. I think it's a good thing. I learned a lot from it. It gave me more of a feeling that we control our own destiny, and that we can shape our future.

I have always heard things and have seen how to prepare when people die, but I have never heard about how you take care of a person when he's being born. I've been to feasts and different things, and I know how we take care of people when they leave, but I have never seen Indians take care of people when they are born. I think that the whole thing that was involved in it was very positive. It was a whole community thing. I see it as another step toward getting everything together.

E: Self-sufficiency?

F: Yes. You know there's a lot of things about different medicines that I have heard, but this is the first experience that I've had taking care of a person or helping bring that person into this wold. It was kind of nice – an Indian kind of thing. I think that the more Indians who do it, the stronger their children are going to be because their whole cycle is going to be unbroken. Instead of going to the hospital and having some stranger take care of your baby, you do it yourself. And I think that would affect the child. Even though now I am having thoughts – you know some kind of spirit was there – and I think that spirit is going to help that child. and help to shape that child. So I think it's positive and really helpful.

Northern Cheyenne People confront the BIA

The Northern Cheyenne Tribe is making every effort to protect and enhance its tribal sovereignty in all areas, but especially over its natural resources. The precedent-setting actions of the Tribe historically, and in particular over the past decade, attest clearly to this fact. During the past years, in a period of intense pressure focused on resource development, certain patterns have continually emerged. Not the least of these trends is the constant attempt by non-Indian governmental agencies to exercise jurisdiction over Northern Cheyenne resources wherever such jurisdiction is not currently in effect. This trend suggests that the most effective means of assuring or maintaining tribal sovereignty is to exercise it.

The Northern Cheyenne Tribe is actively exercising and attempting to extend its jurisdictional rights as a sovereign unit through such means as litigation, program contracting, research on tribal governmental and economic institutions, and the direct exercise of internal regulatory authority whenever possible. For example, in the past three years, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe has triple the number of contracts it has assumed from the Bureau of Indian Affairs. It has redefined the mission the mission of these contracts in order to appropriately service the needs of both its physical resources and its people. The Tribe currently maintains the largest number of contracts maintained by any tribe within the Billings Area BIA office.

Other examples of the Northern Cheyenne Tribe's commitment to total Tribal control over its physical resources are past and present litigation efforts. During the past decade, the Northern Cheyenne Tribe has been engaged in costly but vital litigations concerning the retention and protection of its land, natural resources, environment and people.

The significant legal issues during this period are: 1) the Northern Cheyenne Petition to the Secretary of the Interior Concerning Coal Leases and Permits; 2) the Hollowbreast appeal; 3) the Reservation Water Rights Adjudication; 4) Colstrip Units 3 & 4 Appeals; and 5) litigation to protect the Tribe's recently won Class I air quality designation.

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COAL LEASING

Both the Northern Cheyenne Petition to the Secretary of the Interior Concerning Reservation Coal Leases and Permits and the Hollowbreast Appeal have enabled the Tribe to deal with the grave threat to its survival posed by potentially uncontrolled strip mining of the reservation.

During the interval between July, 1966, and March, 1973, the Bureau of Indian Affairs issued mining permits and leases to AMAX, Chevron, Consolidated and Peabody Coal Companies, the Northern States Power Company, and to various other land speculators. A total of 56 percent of the Cheyenne Reservation land was permitted or leased. Under the terms of the agreements, any or all of this land could conceivably have been mined.

In 1973, in response to an increasing awareness of the ominous threat to the reservation's natural resources and the Tribe's culture posed by the BIA's flagrant breech of its trust responsibility during the coal leasing debacle, the Northern Cheyenne tribal council decided to establish its own independent research organization. The purpose of the Northern Cheyenne Research Project was and is to provide the Tribe with the kind of reliable and accurate information about its resources which was so conspicuously absent in the BIA's recommendations to the Tribe regarding natural resources.

It was soon discovered that the coal leases and permits which had been issued by the BIA involved violations of the law which were so gross that in answer to a lengthy petition by the Tribe, the Secretary of the Interior issued a decision virtually stopping the coal companies from proceeding without further consent of the Tribe.

The Hollowbreast Case (*The Northern Cheyenne Tribe vs. Hollowbreast,*) was finally decided by the Supreme Court in May, 1976. This case involved the question of whether the Tribe as a whole, or a group of individual landowners consisting of Indians and whites, own the major portion of the Northern Cheyenne Coal reserves. This unanimous Supreme Court decision reversed an earlier decision by the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals. It named the Northern Cheyenne Tribe as legal owner of all minerals imbedded within the reservation area. Now energy companies and speculators must deal with the Tribe as a unit, rather than individual Tribal members.

The Northern Cheyenne Tribe has also invested considerable resources in its concern for minitoring, analyzing, and mitigating the effects of off-reservation developments on reservation lands and people. The tribe has met with many obstacles in its efforts to achieve participation in area planning efforts and Environmental Impact Statements which will hold implications for development of the reservation and the region.

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AIR QUALITY

In the wake of the recent decision by the Environmental Protection Agency to deny a construction permit to Montana Power Company's proposed coal-fired generating plants, (Colstrip 3 & 4,) efforts by energy companies to undermine the Northern Cheyenne redesignation to Class I air quality status have been stepped up. The two units lacked proper air quality control equipment and would have violated the Northern Cheyenne stringent Class I air quality standards.

With measures such as its Class I air quality redesignation, the Tribe hopes to achieve a balance of resource development in the region with protection of their home on earth. It was the Northern Cheyenne Tribe alone that fought for and achieved the first Class I air quality designation in the country for its 447,000 acre reservation. Today, several other Native nations, as well as some county governments threatened with massive energy development, are also considering the possibility of redesignation to Class I status to insure the continued long-term economic and ecological viability of their homelands.

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WATER RIGHTS

Litigation has been initiated to assert Northern Cheyenne rights to its water resources. The Tongue River and Rosebud Creek, tributaries of the Yellowstone River, are the only major sources of surface water available to the Northern Cheyenne lands. In a state court proceeding in 1914, the Tongue River was adjudicated and the Tribe was placed 21st in order of priority and limited to 30 cu. ft. per second. The Northern Cheyenne consider this amount clearly unacceptable in view of the size of the reservation. The Tribe has filed action in federal courts in hopes of circumventing state court jurisdiction in this matter. Currently, there is a pressing need to develop the Tribe's irrigation potential as one of the many means of insuring that its water rights are maintained.

OIL AND GAS POTENTIAL

The Tribe is also actively investigating the potential for oil and gas development on the reservation. The Tribe's earlier experience with coal leasing has underscored the fact that Indian Tribes ought to have the opportunity to learn what their resources are before entering into any agreements with mineral companies.

Tribes also ought to have the option available to them of undertaking drilling and marketing programs of their own. Much of this could be done through existing federal programs, such as those of the USGS. It is time that these federal agencies begin paying the same kind of attention to their Indian Lands trust responsibility as they do to the Public Lands trust.

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REGULATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES ACTIVITY ON RESERVATIONS

As indicated earlier, the most effective means of assuring or maintaining tribal sovereignty is to exercise it. One way in which the Tribe may be able to preserve its right to control its natural resources is by adopting its own regulatory legislation to govern its resources. Adopting codes and ordinances and effecting strict enforcement procedures can insure that the Tribe alone will control its natural resources and thereby reap its maximum benefits. The Northern Cheyenne Tribe has recently adopted legislation authorizing the establishment of a Tribal Environmental Protection Commission.

One of the most significant and potentially precedent-setting pieces of legislation in defining the relation between federal and Tribal regulatory authority over Indian natural resources will be the upcoming implementation of the 'Indian Lands Study' portion of the Surface Mining and Reclamation Act of 1977. Section 710 of the 1971 Surface Mining Control and Reclamation Act (Public Law 95-87) directs the Secretary of the Interior to conduct 'a study of the question of the regulation of surface mining on Indian lands... which would recognize the special jurisdictional status of these lands.'

This legislation further directs that the 'Secretary shall provide for adequate participation by the various Indian tribes affected in the study.' Since this is the first time tribes have achieved a legislative mandate to substantially participate in a study of this kind, the precedent which is set by the implementation of the study will be an important one for the Tribes, and for their on-going efforts to achieve similar mandates in forthcoming natural resources legislation. For this reason, it is essential that this hard-won participation not be diluted to the token status so reminiscent of many past federal agency relationships with tribes.

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MINERALS INVENTORIES

Because of the gross legal and monetary inequities in past and present minerals development activities on a majority of reservation lands, it is imperative that appropriate minerals inventories be expanded to include *thorough* research and analysis, as well as initial seed moneys to develop a given mineral(s) on an Indian reservation contingent upon majority consent and participation of a particular tribe. Though most minerals inventories of Indian lands are merely assemblies of

available data, either private and/or federal, little if any seed capital is available to an Indian Tribe which chooses to investigate and develop a particular reservation mineral(s).

Consequently, Indian Tribes are forced to negotiate and/or enter into minerals development agreements and contracts which unquestionably violate equitable market values, as well as relinquish tribal jurisdiction over a majority of reservation-based minerals development activities and their respective non-tribal personnel.

TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE CENTERS

In January, 1978, the Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council and respective Tribal President provided testimony to the politically appointed Reorganization Task Force for the Bureau of Indian Affairs in Denver, Colorado. A major BIA reorganization option presented by tribal representatives to the Task Force during this hearing addressed total restructuring of existing Bureau Area Office functions.

This redesign proposal directly related the feasibility and need for area technical assistance centers which provided professional services to tribes in all areas of 'trust responsibility' and employ key personnel such as hydrologists, engineers, market analysts, industrial specialists, geologists, attorneys, economists and the like. The objectives of these reorganization recommendations were: 1) to effectively and appropriately expand tribal minerals inventories activities; 2) to encourage total tribal participation, and 3) to provide highly adept professional services to a tribe for any energy and natural resources-related projects and/or activities, such as hydrologists for water surveys, geologists for minerals inventories, economists and/or marketing analysts for potential reservation-based minerals development activities and attorneys for appropriate and comprehensive legal reviews and analyses of 'trust-related' issues; 4) to expedite total tribal control and/or jurisdiction over all reservation-based minerals and/or natural resources development activities. Presently, there are no appropriately skilled professionals within the Billings Area Office which can provide such aforementioned technical assistance to the Northern Cheyenne Tribe.

JOINT LEGAL REVIEWS OF CURRENT TRIBAL LITIGATIONS

As reiterated in the background narrative, the Northern Cheyenne Coal Case has been and continues to be a monstrous legal attrocity on behalf of the United States Department of the Interior, Bureau of Indian Affairs. The Northern Cheyenne Coal Case has clearly demonstrated the inept legal abilities of the Interior Department to identify and correct obvious violations of its own regulations and policies in the leasing and development activities of tribally owned land and respective minerals.

It is the opinion of the Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council and respective President that all tribal litigations should be extensively reviewed on a joint effort basis among the Interior Department, Justice Department and independent tribal legal council so as to apprehend and ensure beneficial definition and enforcement of trust responsibility between the United States Congress appointed Indian Agency and all Indian Tribes. To date there is no mechanism within the Interior Department which provides supplemental and objective joint legal analysis for tribal litigations.

BURLINGTON NORTHERN MINERAL LANDS

The Burlington Northern Railroad Company currently owns the mineral resources, including coal, under eight and a half sections (8½ square miles) of Reservation land. BN has held title to these minerals since the late 1800s, when land in this area was granted to the railroad by the federal government as an incentive to lay tracks through Montana.

In 1900, the Northern Cheyenne Reservation was enlarged to include the land between the divide and the Tongue River. This extension of the reservation to the river, including the eight and a half sections west of Ashland under which BN owned title to the minerals.

The Tribe is currently exploring ways by which it might be able to transfer ownership of these valuable reservation resources back into the hands of the Tribe where they belong.

There is a map with this piece

(This article was reprinted with permission from Tsistsistas Press, the publication of the Northern Cheyenne Tribal Council.)

NAVAJOS AND TAXATION

It came as something of a surprise, and it is still too soon for people to spend too much time celebrating the event, but on July 11, federal District Court Judge William P. Copple upheld the power of the Navajo tribal government to impose taxes on non-Indians. The decision came in the wake of a number of higher court decisions which have been limiting the powers of Native governments as recognized by the United States courts.

The decision resulted from a lawsuit against the Navajo Nation by five corporations which jointly operate and own a $600 million power generating plant in Page, Arizona. Judge Copple ruled that "taxation power is an inherent attribute of tribal sovereignty," and that the 1868 treaty between the Navajos and the United States guarantees the Navajo Nation the right to "exclude non-Indians from their reservation" as a means of enforcing Navajo law.

Copple side-stepped a second claim by the power conglomerate. They had argued that the tax violates terms of a 1968 lease agreement with the power companies which expires in 2003 A.D.. Many Navajo people have expressed displeasure with the terms of that lease. Judge Copple referred this question to the U.S. Secretary of the Interior because the Navajo Nation enjoys sovereign immunity at the state level where contract disputes are usually adjudicated.

The Navajo Tax Commission estimates that the Navajo Nation will receive an additional revenue of approximately $28 million in the first year of taxation. Navajo spokesmen say that they will place the money in escrow pending any appeals the corporations may make.

Although the 12-million acre Navajo Reservation was once regarded as barren, unprofitable land, the discovery of large amounts of coal, uranium, oil and natural gas in the past two decades has attracted a long list of energy conglomerates. Under the terms of the 60s lease agreements, these companies paid taxes to the state and federal governments, while the Navajo Nation received a considerably smaller lease fee and a miniscule royalty payment. (Until this year, for example, coal companies paid the Navajos about $.15 per ton of coal, or roughly two percent of market value.)

The ramifications of the Copple decision for other Native peoples across the country (notable the Crow and Northern Cheyenne in eastern Montana) are "very broad and significant," reported Sue Williams, head of the Navajo Tax Commission and the woman credited with developing the new tax program. "It will enable the tribes to become more self-reliant, and will provide the tribal governments with a 'real world' way of dealing with their internal needs. Had the decision gone the other way, its long-range effect would have been to destroy the tribes," Williams states, "but in terms of the contractual questions, we're not out of danger yet."

Concerning the terms of the lease, the argument the tribe plans to offer to the Secretary of Interior's office may prove as significant as the taxation portion of the decision. Williams says the tribe will argue that the BIA – whose legal relation to the tribe is alleged to be that of trustee to ward-of-state – failed to act in the best interests of the Navajo people when it approved the lease agreements with the companies.

Citing the unusually long period of the lease agreement, the paltry royalty payments and the clause restricting the Navajos from taxing these companies, Williams says the Navajo officials who accepted the contract in the 1960s "were not sufficiently informed of its long-range significance." And, Williams says, they lacked experience in the bargaining game. "Our people didn't understand that those plants *had* to be built. The tribe did not need to accept such give-away terms."

Indeed, BIA officials today agree that their agency was remiss in its duties concerning the lease agreements. "There is no doubt that those leases would not be approved today," David Harrison, BIA Rights Protection Officer, readily admits.

According to Peter Taylor, special counsel with the Senate Select Committee on Indian Affairs, a decision critical of the BIA's role as Navajo trustee "would have a hell of a lot of impact. The BIA's potential trust liability for mismanagement of trust resources is great."

If the Interior Department finds the contracts[to be valid and the Navajo taxes therefore a lease violation, the Navajos will have no standard route for appealing the decision. And while the Department serves only as arbitrator and possesses no authority to force the Navajo Nation's compliance with an unfavorable decision, the BIA could try to pressure the Navajos by threatening to withhold its annual funding of roughly $26 million. The threat of withdrawing recognition of the Navajos' tribal status is "the ultimate threat," according to Al Ziontz, a Seattle-based lawyer who has represented several Indian nations in lawsuits. "If you're not a recognized tribal government, then you cannot get appropriated funds," he explains.

Meanwhile, members of the compahies invilved in the lawsuits are gathering their ammunition. Stan Hancock, a spokesperson for the Salt River Project, one of the five plaintiffs in the law suit, says his company might decide against building any further plants on any reservation because of "financial uncertainty."

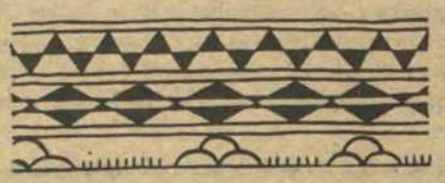
But Bobby George, administrative assistant to the Navajo tribal chairman, says the Salt River Project's position on future projects is "unrealistic and unfeasible. The taxes we will impose won't even come close to what these companies would have to pay in the form of municipal and county taxes off the reservation. They know they can't afford to go anywhere else, because even if they won't get as good a deal here as they had before, it will still be 50-80 percent cheaper than if they moved off-reservation."

Upon learning of the Copple decision, Navajo Council chairman Peter MacDonald said that, "While the case is certainly not concluded, I am pleased with this victory for all Navajo people."

"It is a good day," he concluded.

A research and policy development specialist working closely with the Northern tribe in Eastern Montana told BORROWED TIMES Magazine that the Cheyenne the Cheyenne and the Crow tribes were aware of the Arizona decision and are studying it closely as they continue to develop their own resource protection and tax programs. "The decision only affirms something the tribes have held right along, that we have the sovereign power to tax."

(This information was adapted from an article by Peter R. Melnick which appeared in the September issue of BORROWED TIMES magazine of Missoula, Montana, to whom we are grateful.)



KLAMATH FISHING STRUGGLE

A fishing rights struggle has embroiled the Yurok Indians of Northern California's Klamath River and is threatening to erupt into the kind of violence once common in the Washington State fishing controversy of the 1960s. At stake are the pride and culture of the Yuroks who for thousands of years have depended on the yearly migration of the Pacific salmon. Also at stake is the question of Indian rights and hundreds of thousands of dollars of income to the Indian commercial fishermen. The federal government has imposed a moratorium on all fishing at the mouth of the Klamath River. The ban is based on biological data that indicates that the salmon run is down by as much as 30% this year and that Indian gillnetters along the river will not allow sufficient escapement to insure the vitality of the run for the future. The ban is being enforced by thirty U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service agents armed with M-16 rifles.

The Yuroks have attempted to defy the ban by fishing the mouth of the river. Confrontations have erupted which resulted in physical violence, arrests, and serious federal criminal charges filed against the demonstrators. Agents, reinforced by local sheriff's deputies, city police and coats guard personnel, have responded in full riot gear – including bullet-proof vests and sophisticated weaponry. The Indians have attempted to prevent the confiscation of their fishing gear with fists, oars and rocks. Thus far the struggle has followed the pattern of earlier conflicts between Indians and government officials in the Pacific Northwest.

The Yuroks feel that they are being unfairly singled out as the cause of the severe depletion of the Klamath River salmon runs. Sportsfishermen, the California congressional delegation, and state legislators have all pointed to the Yurok fishermen as the cause of the run's decline. Little attention has been given the destruction of the natural spawning grounds in the tributary streams of the Klamath resulting from the logging practices of the large timber companies. The Yurok's present critics have not been vociferous in opposing upstream dams which have contributed to a rise in the river's temperature – a factor which has discouraged the salmon from entering the river. Nor have they protested the lack of regulation of the offshore fishery which for years has allowed serious overfishing by the commercial interests.

Today, the most serious threat to the American commercial and sportsfishermen, and the Indian fishermen, (not to mention the salmon,) are foreign fishing boats which are allowed to operate within three miles of the Calfiornia coast and the mouth of the Klamath River under special permits issued by the United States Commerce Department. This combination of lack of enforcement of offshore commercial limits and the presence of foreign fishing vessels may prove fatal to the Klamath River salmon runs, and to the Yurok people. In a year when the salmon run is down an estimated 30%. the offshore commercial take has increased by 75% according to U.S. Fish and Wildlife spokesman John Sayre.

U.S. Fish and Wildlife biologist Gary Rankel has acknowledged that the foreign fishing fleet is probably the most serious threat to the salmon resource, but stated that his department could do nothing about it because the fishing takes place beyond their jurisdiction. All they (U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service) were capable of doing involved enforcing fishing regulations against the Indians.

The Yuroks say that the regulations are manifestations of a regional racism because they only effect Indian fishing and do not form part of a comprehensive management plan for the watershed. Therefore, they say, the regulations not only discriminate against the Indians, but are patently ineffective in managing the fishery resource.

The struggle has the surface appearance of a straightforward Indian rights battle. However, a peek below the surface reveals an extremely complex situation with individual Indians falling on all sides of the issue. The strongest disagreement in the Yurok camp involves commercial fishing. All Yuroks agree on the right to subsistence and ceremonial fishing. These rights, unlike the treaty rights of Washington State Indians, are reserved rights supported by case law in the Mattz and Arnett fishing cases. Yuroks have always subsisted on the salmon and used them to feed the people for the important ceremonial occasions of the year.

Indian commercial fishing on the Klamath River dates back to the early part of this century. The reason for the recent uproar, aside from the diminished run, involves the use of modern nylon gill nets by the Yurok fishermen. These nets have substantially increased the fishermens' yield. Protected by the ambiguous wording of the court cases, a thriving commercial fishery has developed in recent years. The newfound wealth of the Yurok commercial fishermen is manifested in the number of expensive 4-wheel drive rigs and jet boats now piloted by Indian fishermen. A good night's catch during the short season can produce $1500 from eager fish buyers in Oregon. (It is illegal for Californians to buy gill-netted salmon from the Klamath River – a deterent which has not prevented some of the larger fish companies from dealing in illegal fish. One California buyer is presently awaiting court proceedings for possession of 650 pounds of gill netted salmon.)

Another group of Yuroks are opposed to commercial fishing but are steadfast in their opposition to regulation of subsistence and ceremonial fishing. Their argument runs something like this – we have always fished in our traditional manner in our locations; we have always conserved the runs and it is the offshore and sportsfishermen, logging companies, and dams which have depleted the runs - not us; we do not want to accept state or federal regulation unless a reasonable management plan for the whole Klamath River watershed is developed with our participation. Although a few fish are occassionally quietly sold by members of this camp, there is considerable antipathy towards the commercial fishermen who are seen as a threat to the subsistence and ceremonial rights as well as to the salmon runs.

One family which is firmly in the "subsistence camp" owns one of the major sport fishing camps at the mouth of the Klamath River and is largely dependent upon the sportsfishermen for its economic survival. Both groups are opposed to regulations and the moratorium for entirely different reasons.

Against this backdrop of intratribal disagreement, there exists an intertribal squabble between the Hupas and Yuroks. Known locally as the Jesse Short case, the dispute involves the question of whether the Klamath River Reservation (which extends one mile on either side of the river for twenty miles,) is actually part of the twelve mile square Hupa Reservation. The court found that the two reservations are, after all, one reservation, a finding which would entitle the Yuroks a share of the vast timber resources of Hoopa. Since the decision, the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been putting 70% of Hupa timber income in escroe (about $16 million, to date) until several questions can be answered. The Yuroks have steadfastly refused to organize a tribal government, feeling such a move would jeopardize the Jesse Short Case and their share of the timber resource. But without some form of government, the Yuroks cannot regulate their own hunting and fishing which is an open invitation for the federal government to do it for them.

The other problem surrounding the eventual disposition of the Jesse Short case involves the process of determination of the membership of the Yurok Nation. This process of determination of membership and governmental structure is grinding on slowly and causing some anxiety among the Yuroks. According to some Yuroks, the fishing confrontations are simply tactics in their overall strategy to force the federal government to prompt action on the Jesse Short Case.

The Klamath River Indian Wildlife Association has proposed a 16 point plan concerning the fishing moratorium. The plan calls for the development of a comprehensive management plan for the Klamath River fishery, including enhancement, natural habitat reconstruction, extension of a ban on ocean fishing to beyond a 100 mile radius from the mouth of the river. Their plan also calls for close monitoring of potential ecological damage from construction, logging, and pesticide use in the Klamath River Watershed. The KRIWA has also offerred to assist the state and federal government in collection of accurate date on the river fishery. Present data is acknowledged to be largely guesswork and is recognized as totally inadequate in view of the importance of the salmon to both the Indian and non-Indian people in the area.

For the moment, the battle at the mouth of the Klamath has moved largely into the courts. There have been few confrontations since the salmon moved up the river. Both sides (or maybe all sides is more appropriate,) are busily preparing legal strategies they hope will carry the day. In terms of organization, the Yuroks are about where their counterparts in the state of Washington were ten years ago – largely unorganized. Tremendous pressure is building in California to ban commercial fishing on the Klamath, and there is a danger, given the present state of the Indian backlash movement, that any kind of Indian fishing on the river may be banned. The Yuroks are standing alone and divided on this issue. That situation could have a fatal impact on their economic future.

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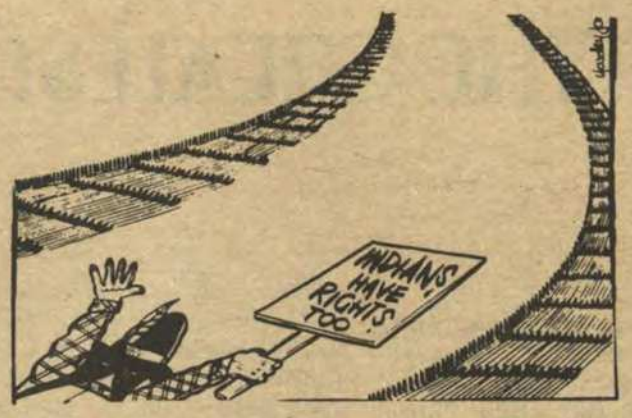
Mohawks Reject Quebec Authority

The Kahnawake Survival School was started to provide leverage to the Kahnawake Combined School Committee in its dealings with the Parti Quebecois, the French nationalist party of Quebec. When it became evident that the Parti Quebecois' recognition of Native Cultural Sovereignty was confined to the arena of political rhetoric, the Combined School Committee set out to establish the Kahnawake Survival School permanently, and to reverse once and for all a European program of forced assimilation begun in Quebec in 1635.



Seven hundred Mohawks from the Caughnawaga Reserve (Kahnawake) marched from Billings High School in Chateauguay to the reserve on September 6, 1978. The march was the beginning of what may be a long drawn-out fight against the Provincial Government of Quebec to insure the survival of Native people in the province.

In November of 1976, the people of Quebec elected the Parti Quebecois to power. On August 26, 1977, Parti Quebecois passed into law "Bill 101," the Charter of the French Language. Essentially, it is a bill which requires that the children of all immigrants in Quebec be educated in French-language schools. One of the provisions of Bill 101 is that Native children who are going to school off the "reserve" are required to submit an application for a license if they desire instruction in the English language.

The implications of Bill 101 and its administrative machinery were made evident when parents tried to register their children without submitting these license applications. The Native Nations feel that they cannot allow either the Canadian federal government or the Province of Quebec to legislate culture to them.

There are some complex issues at stake. The province recongizes Indian rights on the reserves, but Native people who leave the reserves, even day-school children who travel from their homes on the reserves to schools a few miles away, are considered in the same classification as immigrants under the new law. The realization that Native people had suddenly been reclassified as "Immigrants," and the implications that the Province had somehow and totally against their will asumed the power to legislate over them, stimulated a great deal of alarm among Quebec's Indian population. On September 5, the grade seven students from Kahnawake were not allowed to register at Billings high school without their "licenses." The next day, the people of Kahnawake were told through the Combined School Committee that Billings High School would accept their children without licenses, but that these children would not be granted leaving certificates or diplomas upon completing their education. By late morning the Kahnawake children enrolled at Billings along with members of the school committee and parents staged a "walkout."

Native people from all over Quebec began organizing immediately. By Friday, September 8, plans were in full swing to start an interim high school at Kahnawake. The Combined School Committee and representatives of thirty nine Nations met with Camille Laurin on September 15.

The Kahnawake people were prepared to take action. Even before the meeting with Laurin, the Kahnawake School Committee decided to create their own alternative to the Billings High School. They issued a statement that they intended to create a truly viable alternative, a school based on Native principles of cooperation, education, and Mohawk cultural sovereignty. Thus was the Kahnawake Survival School born in an effort to return the education of the community's children to the education.

The meeting with Laurin proved inconclusive. Laurin stated that he would give the matter some thought, but has since been quoted as downplaying the importance of the Friday meeting. After the Laurin meeting, Mohawk people became aware that the Kahnawake Survival School was "here to stay," not as an interim measure, but as a way of bringing education, and the control of education, back home. At a meeting on September 17, the Kahnawake people issued a demand that federal education funds be transferred to the Combined School Committee. On September 28, the Combined School Committee handed a letter to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development of Canada, requesting the transfer of educational funds the the Kahnawake Survival School.

On Monday, September 11, the Kahnawake Survival School registered 280 students – more than 90% of the school-age population of the community. Testing was held on Tuesday and Wednesday, and classes began on Thursday. By Friday the following resolution was prepared:

"We do not recognize the authority of Quebec over the sovereign Indian people of this country.

Consequently, we feel that Quebec has no jurisdiction and no authority to impose Bill 101 over us and, therefore, reject it completely.

As far as the Indian people are concerned, Bill 101 is a closed issue."

The developments at Kahnawake illustrates the nature of the Native position in Canada at this time. Canada has been moving for several decades toward a complete integration of Native people into Canadian society. What this essentially means is that Canada wants to absorb all of the Native people, and their lands, into a national society. This reflects the Canadian government's efforts to find a way to abolish all Native rights in Canada – rights to land, rights to a culture, rights to an existence as communities of people.

At the same time, Canada's native people face a serious dilemma. If they have few friends in Ottawa, they are finding they have some outright enemies in the Provincial governments. For example, the French nationalist party of Canada is passing legislation, such as Bill 101, which would reduce the Native people to the status, not even of Canadian citizens (which would mean the denial of all aboriginal or Native rights,) but to the conditions of immigrants. The Native people of Quebec are presently aware that their future is threatened – not so much by a language bill, but by the principle that a government which does not represent them, and which does not protect their interests, is attempting to pass legislation which would affect their lives and which could, potentially, destroy their future. It was the principle that stirred them to action – the same principle that became the battle cry of the American Revolution two hundred (and two) years ago – the question of legislation without representation.

It is difficult to see the principles of law under which Quebec would be enabled to pass legislation affecting Native people. Certainly, Quebec did not have such power in the past, and the Mohawk people have not given them such power. Quebec must have simply assumed that power. Today the Mohawk people are looking to regain their sovereignty and to control for themselves the decisions about culture that Quebec and the Canadian federal government have tried for centuries to make for them. The Kahnawake Survival School is a first step in that direction.

Other Native peoples in Quebec have also taken their children out of the schools and have conducted marches, road blockades, and other demonstrations in opposition to Bill 101. Virtually all of the native people of the province have acted in solidarity against the bill.

The local non-Native press has issued editorials hinting that the whole incident at Kahnawake is a ploy to obtain construction of a high school at Kahnawake. The withdrawal of some 300 students from Billings High School has meant that tuition assistance funds from the federal government will not be received by the Billings school district this year. The funds amount to an estimated $750,000. Loss of that funding is projected to have serious effects on the Billings school district budget.

Kahnawake people have denied that the actions are an attempt to force a high school onto the reserve. They say that they are working toward the survival of their community and their way of life, and they are reacting to the need to return education to the hands of the community.

The Kahnawake Survival School presently has a Monday to Wednesday schedule during which students work in groups of up to fifteen on projects of their own choice. These projects are designed to enhance basic skills such as communication, history and social science, science, math, and vocational skills. For example, a group of grade ten and eleven students are working with the nursery school staff and the hospital staff on a child care project. The welding students have been working with a retired welder from Kahnawake to set up a welding shop. A group of grade ten and eleven students are starting a newspaper and are now working with some volunteer staff on an Indian newspaper.

A group of history students have begun a project of their own, the Kahnawake Survival Project, to research the history of the Kahnawake Mohawks and to prepare an exhibit and book on Mohawk culture, Kahnawake history, and Native cultural sovereignty. All of these projects are initiated by the students, and are facilitated by a qualified instructor in one of the major fields. These instructors must work with the students on their project, but assure the curriculum committee of the Kahnawake Survival School that basic learning skills are being incorporated by the students as well.

On two days of the week the students sit in more structured classes where they pick up learning skills not incorporated into the group projects. Special seminars are offered after the regular school hours for students with special academic interests in such fields as physics, French, biology and math.

The first two weeks have been enough to convince the Kahnawake Survival School of the success of the venture. Students at first had a difficult time making the transition from the Billings system to the Kahnawake Survival School, but have since taken the change completely to heart. The most important indication of the success of the school so far has been the increased self-confidence that the students have developed through their group projects. At Billings, the fact that the Mohawk students are different is enough to convince the rest of the Billings students that they are inferior. At the Kahnawake Survival School, Mohawk students are made to feel proud of their different heritage. They learn all of the skills taught at Billings High School, but they do so in a way that these skills are not set in opposition to Native cultural values.

Thus far, the Kahnawake Survival School has been operating with a complete volunteer staff of teachers, aides and administrators. The operating funds have been solicited from the community and from supporters from outside Kahnawake.

The Alaska Native Land Claim - 1978

"ONF OF THE GREATEST LAND THEFTS IN OUR HISTORY."

(The following article is divided into two sections. The first part is a history of the Native Alaskans' relationship to the U.S. government that has been exerpted from publications of the Alaska Native Foundation. The second part is AKWESASNE NOTES' analysis of the current situation in Alaska. We alone are responsible for the opinions expressed in the second section.)

Centuries before the purchase of Alaska by the United States from Russia, Alaska Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts had inhabited the area. In the Organic Act of 1884, the United States Congress recognized the rights of Alaska Natives by declaring Alaska Natives would not be disturbed in their use if the land they occupied or claimed.

More than 103 years later, the United States Congress made good on that promise with the passage of the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act. It promised the right of Native selection to forty million acres of land and a compensation of $962,500,000 for lands not returned.

Alaska Natives were more fortunate than their counterparts in other states. Their lands had not been subject to extensive settlement by newcomers in the 18th and 19th centuries, nor had they lost any major wars or signed peace treaties with immigrant peoples. Since the principal activity of the Russian-American Company was to obtain the furs of sea mammals and land animals, rather than engage in agriculture, there was no need for large-scale immigration from Russia. And since only a few coastal or accessible river areas were affected by the Russians, there was no need to purchase land from the original inhabitants.

There were few immigrants to Alaska from the other states until the discovery of gold in the Canadian Klondike in the late 1890s. Then, Americans began sweeping north in search of gold and other precious minerals, to establish fish canneries and otherwise make their fortune. The establishing of military defense units brought large numbers of residents to Alaska to live. By the end of 1900, there were more immigrants in Alaska than there were Alaska Natives. By the time Alaska became a state in 1959, Alaska Natives made up only one-fourth the population.

In the early 1960s, the State of Alaska began selecting the 103 million acres of land promised under the Statehood Act. Natives began protesting on the basis of aboriginal rights. Previously there had been enough land for everyone, and traditional use rights were respected. But new rules and regulations were forcing Alaska Natives who had always depended on the land and its resources for survival, to change their lifestyles. A Native hunter in Barrow was arrested for killing ducks in violation of the International Migratory Waterfowl regulations. Soon, to make their voice heard, 200 local hunters turned themselves in with their illegal catch. The Alaska Natives found themselves being regarded as squatters on public lands.

In 1966, Alaska Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts joined together to form a statewide organization which would fight for the acknowledgement of their aboriginal rights; legal title to lands used and occupied and compensation for lands taken. It was the first time in the history of Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts that Alaska's major Native nations were committed to a common goal. Historically they had often warred against one another.

There was some precenden for an Alaska Native settlement, based on the doctrine of unextinguished aboriginal rights. In 1959, a court had held that the Tlingit and Haida Indians of Southeast Alaska were owed compensation by the U.S. government because it had established a national forest encompassing most of the land they had used and occupied.

Then oil was discovered.

A major oil discovery was made on Alaska's north slope in 1968, and a consortium of oil companies wanted to develop it, complete with a 789-mile pipeline to an ice-free port at Valdez, Alaska. When the courts delayed construction of that pipeline until Congress could resolve the Native claims, the oil companies joined the Alaska Federation of Natives in the battle to settle the aboriginal claims.

If the settlement of December 18, 1971, seemed like a great victory to some, it was greeted with anger by others, for a variety of reasons. The Arctic Slope Native Association voted a resounding "no" when the vote came on whether to accept the negotiated settlement. Arctic Slope argued that its people, some 3,000 Inupiat Eskimos scattered in eight villages across the north slope of Alaska, used and needed continued use of a much larger area than that allotted them on a per capita basis.

Many Alaskans of non-native descent also opposed the Act, because they didn't feel the Natives had any more title to the land than any other Alaskans.

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The initial result of the Settlement Act was to require Alaska Natives to set up 12 profit-making regional corporations and approximately 225 village corporations to manage the land and moneys. The regional corporations would own subsurface rights of the 40 million acres and the village corporations would have the surface rights to an acreage related to village size.

The region owning the lands would receive 30% of all income from timber and minerals and the remaining 70% would be divided among the 12 Alaska regions proportionately. Since the Settlement Act was to settle an old debt, and since the corporations were formed for profit-making purposes, the regions established non-profit corporations to handle the human resource activities. No settlement money could be used to fund these non-profit corporations.

To date only a minute amount of land has been transferred through interim conveyance to the Native firms and the cash payments to regional and village firms have been largely devoted to securing the lands. The individual payments to the Native shareholders have been very small. During the five years following the Act, the regional corporations were to distribute to villages and individuals no less than 55% of the funds received from (1) the Native fund (2) mineral and timber revenues (3) and investment incomes. The Native fund moneys were slow in coming, the mineral and timber lands were only in the process of being selected and there was little investment income. The 10% of those incomes, which were to represent cash payments to individuals were much smaller than anticipated.

For example, village shareholders have received approximately $410 each as their entire cash settlement. Nobody knows for sure how much of the 40 million acres the Native firms will actually receive title to, with unresolved disputes over easements and transportation corridors and navigable waterways, nor does anyone know when that land will actually become Native owned.

To date recipients of the Alaska Land Claims Settlement have little to show for their victory. The rise in their per capita income from $5000 in 1970 to $7000 in 1976 is due mainly to the pipeline building boom, the creation of corporate jobs and inflation rather than payment from the settlement itself.

The majority of Native corporations have yet to declare a profit; only Ahtna and Arctic Slope have paid dividents (which may have been premature); and two have announced major losses. (Calista lost $3.5 million in 1976 and Bering Straits declared a $5.5 million loss in 1977.)

[The preceeding has been exerpted from Alaska Natives: A Status Report, and *Alaska Native Corporations: A Status Report* issued by the Alaska Native Foundation.]

The Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act of 1971 is developing into one of the greatest land thefts in our history. Unlike treaty lands, where the United States continues to recognize residual elements of sovereignty at least in principle, the Alaska lands are organized into twelve regional corporations that are required to be profit-making. The regional corporations are expected to be self-supporting by 1986 when payments under the Act are expected to cease.

The corporations were designed to rapidly transform the Native peoples of Alaska from their traditional styles of life into the Alaskan money economy. Under the Act, each Native person enrolled in the region is alloted 100 shares of the regional corporation. These shares cannot be sold or otherwise alienated for a period of twenty years. In 1991, at the expiration of this period, the shares can be freely sold to anyone including non-Natives, banks, and multinational corporations. The village corporations, which are organized under the approved authority of the regional corporations have issued shares that are also freely transferable after 1991. As was the case with the allotments of the 19th century, the prospects for the Native peoples' retaining even a small measure of control over their lands is very remote.

It is apparent that the legislation was drafted with the extraction of natural materials in mind. In 1991, all of the holdings of the regional corporations are subject to taxation. In order to meed this enormous burden, the corporations have 13 years to develop a financial structure that is self-sustaining at a level of income sufficient to pay the taxes and provide enough of a dividend

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In order to pay the taxes, either substantial lands will have to be sold or else the regional corporation will become virtual subsidiaries of the powerful multinational corporations.

Only very rapid and widespread exploitation of natural materials could possible produce the kind of income levels sufficient for survival. To date, the regional corporations have been handicapped by a shortage of Native expertise in management and finance to the point that substantial areas of land have yet to be chosen from government reserves under the Act. The imperatives of corporate finance are very distant from the traditional cultures that value group autonomy, and harmony with the Natural World.

Many of the regional corporations are already feeling the squeeze. There seems to be a developing tendency toward joint ventures with the multinationals. For example, the Arctic Slope Regional Corporation has signed an oil exploration agreement with Standard of California, Texaco, Union and Amoco, and a mineral exploration agreement with Seward Peninsula Mining. The Bristol Bay Native Corporation recently purchased the Anchorage Westward Hotel but has given management to the Hilton Hotel chain. It has also signed a 50–50 oil exploration agreement with Phillips Petroleum as has Chugash Natives Inc.. Doyon Ltd, has signed oil and gas agreements with the Louisiana Land and Exploration Company and has signed mineral exploration agreements with a consortium of companies.

This trend brings to mind the concept of "spheres of inclucnce" that the industrial nations have long developed in the Third World. Although the specifics of these contracts are unknown, it is clear that the Native corporations are vulnerable to the promise of quick results, while it is to the advantage of the multinationals to hide their time. The post-1991 period promises a rapid alienation of tribal lands.

Internal management studies have begun to encourage the joint venture agreements. One such study, by Dean F. Olson, the Vice President of Operations for Ahtna, Inc., estimates that the Native corporations have a 10% chance of survival without them:

"The total probability of all paths leading to self-sufficient investment and return levels equals 10%. The total probability of all paths leading to insufficient funds is 90%. Given the judgements made..., the probabilities of the region surviving (without land sales) is 10%."

The implications of this analysis are becoming quite obvious. The *Anchorage Times*, long an opponent of the Native claims, recently editorialized:

"Bureaucrats will control the federal and state lands. There is no reason to expect these bureaucrats to stray from the traditions of the past. They will continue to impede, delay, and discourage efforts to separate the land from their jurisdiction. Alaskans will eventually find it just as hard to do business with the state as they have with the federal government.

But with the Natives it will be different. The Natives must use their assets to produce profits. They will want development of their lands as fast as they can bring it about.

It is safe to predict that a major part of the future development by private enterprise in Alaska will be on lands that are owned by the Natives."

Rapid development, even if it can be accomplished, poses a multitude of problems. Only undeveloped lands are tax-exempt until 1991. However, many of the Native corporations have not yet reached the point where this is an issue. Millions of dollars have been spent for technical assistance in order to select the 40 million acres promised in the Act. This selection process is often financially crippling to the corporations.

Of necessity, the corporate headquarters are located in urban centers, far removed from the realities of life of the Native peoples. This distance is more than symbolic. Corporations require functional hierarchies and the logic of management systems and capital investments. Already debates are raging over the question of investments in areas that would benefit Native peoples in the localities, but which are only marginally profitable, as opposed to high yield investments whose only impact in the Native communities is through the stockholders. The more that the Native corporations involve themselves with the multinationals, the greater the liklihood that investment decisions will be made without regard to the well-being of the communities.

If it is true that the Native corporations cannot exist apart from the multinationals, it is worthwhile to examine the experience of reservation Indians and Third World countries whose economies have been penetrated by these corporate giants. Universally, the relationship between the multinationals and their hosts has gone in one direction. Resources and profits are extracted from the local areas and removed to metropolitan centers. Employment opportunities are rarely created for the local people due to the technological sophistication of the machines used to extract the resource materials. The local people experience disease, dislocation, corruption of the traditional cultures, and disruption of the subsistence economy. Land use is organized around the efficiency of extraction as the only concern. This process is the same whether the stockholders live in an Inuit village or in New York City.

The record of the multinationals' relationship with the environment is equally dismal. Materials are removed without regard to the impact on the beings who are dependent on the land for their lives. Most mining operations are highly polluting and often release chemicals that are dangerously poisonous or cancer producing. The balance of nature in Alaska is very delicate and it remains to this day one of the few areas of North America where Native peoples can live in their traditional ways. The systematic exploitation of the land can only mean the destruction of these subsistence patterns. Many species of fish and animals that sustain the people will be unable to survive in the new chemical environments. It should be noted that the most profitable methods of extraction are the ones with the most devastating impact on the environment.

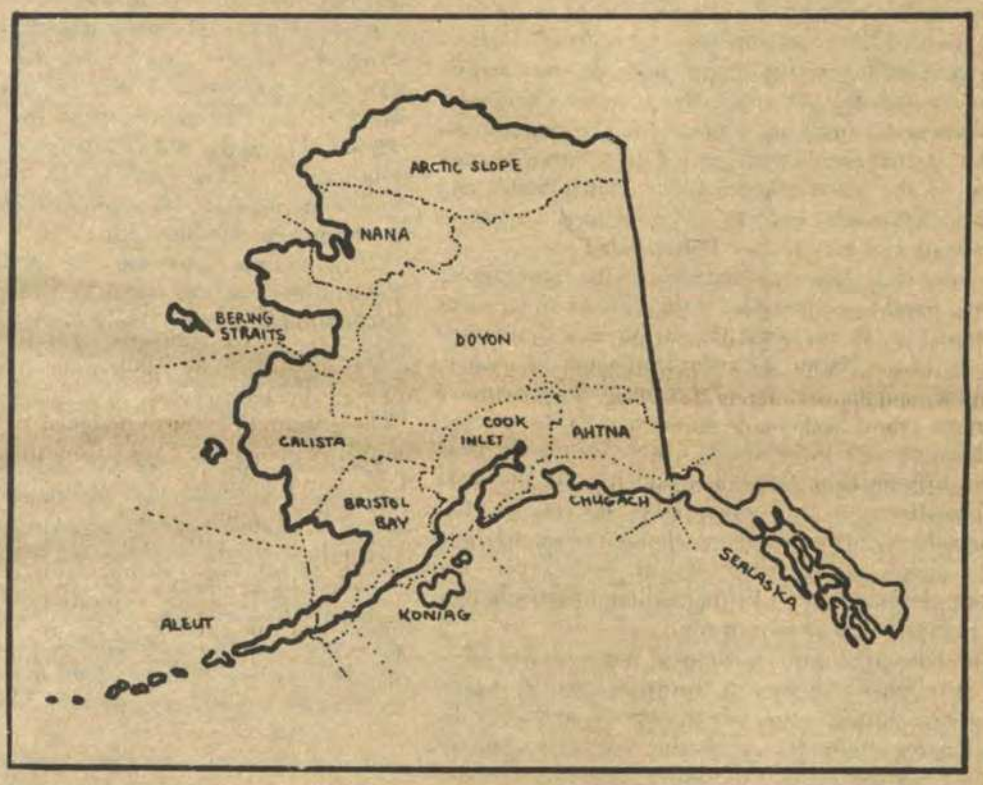
The impact on the environment and the human societies are never calculated in the cost of doing business. Successful investment means dollars profit in terms of dollars invested. The claims legislation is written so as to prevent the Native corporations from assisting the people whose lives have been compromised by the profit picture. Only the problematically funded non-profit corporations are permitted to offer social services.

In terms of the Native people themselves, it matters little whether their lives are destroyed by the multinationals or by their own corporations that act like the multinationals. It makes little sense to corrupt a way of life for thousands of people in order to engage in questionable ventures that may, if successful, return small sums of money to whichever Native shareholders remain after 1991. The Natives certainly have "shares" in their corporation; they share in the spoilation of the land, they share in the passing away of the culture, they share in alcoholism and suicide, they share in the sacrifice of the birthright of their coming generations.

The destruction of traditional subsistence patterns means a loss of independence and political autonomy for the people. Decisions that affect every aspect of life will be made far from the Native communities. The old ways sustain more than the subsistence needs of the people, they also sustain the cultures. How many would choose to trade these things for dollars?

Finally, the mythology of the "self-reliant Native stockholder" would be laughable if it were not so tragic. It is uncomfortable reminiscent of the "self-reliant Indian farmer" of the Dawes Allotment Act of 1886. Not only does this amount to precipitous termination, but it is as rapacious a land grab as has victimized any people. As always, the theft is clothed in the language of benevolence and righteousness that poorly masks the lust for land.

Alaska Native Corporations



THE POISONED TREE

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE SENECA ELECTIVE SYSTEM

(The Seneca Nation is one of the original five nations of the Iroquois Confederacy. In 1848, they adopted a constitutional form of government which had the effect of removing the Allegany and Cattaraugus reservations in New York State from the Council Fire of the Confederacy. The Senecas, because of their geographical location, were one of the nations that made early contact with the European trading and settler regimes in the 17th century.

The story of the Seneca elective system is interesting in that it is one of the earliest continuing constitutional governments among Indian people in North America. It pre-dates the Indian Reorganization Act by 86 years. Many of the problems that traditional people on IRA reservations have faced recently in terms of education, resource exploitation, corruption and the alienation of tribal lands were, and continue to be, experienced by the Seneca since the inception of this governmental form. Recently, the tribal Treasurer and former President, Robert Hoag, was indicted by a United States Grand Jury for embezzlement of federal grant moneys to influence the course of a tribal election.)

The Elective system, under the constitution of 1848, began at a very difficult tome for the Seneca people. For the preceding 50 years the community had been fractured by wars, successive land cessions, and cultural changes introduced by competing missionary denominations. Previously, when the Seneca controlled millions of acres of land, factional disputes that could not be resolved by the community resulted in one faction moving away to begin its own village. By the 1820s, this method of dispute settlement was no longer possible.

The Seneca, through often spurious land cession treaties, were confined to small reservations surrounded by white settlements. Although a large group of Longhouse people moved to the Six Nations Reserve in Canada in disgust over the way that many of the Seneca had been corrupted by money, from this time forward all conflict would have to be fought within reservations.

The process by which the Seneca moved from unanimous community decisions with total participation (the traditional government) to a representative system where a few men make decisions for everyone, occurred with the destruction of the Seneca Nation. In the old ways, differences were resolved within the community by discussion and compromise and the Nation had always faced the outside world with a united spirit.

The position of the chiefs required great capacity for responsibility and wisdom, not political or economic power. Under this system, it was not possible for the United States to convince the people to give up their land. To accomplish this, the federal government and the Ogden Land Company began to exploit divisions in the community created by the missionaries and by cultural corruption through white ideas, alcohol, and money.

During the period 1800 – 1848, the United States refused to recognize the legitimacy of the governance of the Seneca Nation. Instead, it would accept the majority vote of the chiefs as the decision of the people. In so doing, the U.S. redefined for its own purposes and advantage the meaning of "chief," who was a chief, and what constituted a majority, and supported those redefinitions with force. It was very difficult to gain land cessions under the principle of unanimous decisions. However, a "majority" was a more manageable concept for outside intervention.

The Ogden Land Company (with the complicity of U.S. Indian commissioners.) used bribery and coercion to obtain the signatures of numerous self-proclaimed "chiefs" to agreements which gave away all the Seneca lands in New York State in 1838. This removal was largely supported by the most culturally assimilated Seneca who were historically of the Christian faction. It was only because of the blatant corruption which surrounded the signing of the Treaty of 1838, coupled with the efforts of the Friends to give publicity to that corruption, that Congress refused to confirm it. Nevertheless, the action resulted in the loss of the Buffalo Creek Reservation and the selling out of large area of Tonawanda lands even though the Tonawanda Senecas were not a party to the negotiations.

It was in this context of crisis and confusion that the constitution of 1848 was imposed on the Seneca Nation. It was imposed because it created deep divisions within the Seneca and did not enjoy the consensus necessary for a democratic form of government. The constitution and the elective system it created have survived only because of the intervention of the United States and New York State who were to use it, again and again, as an administrative arm of their Indian policies.

For decades, the missionaries, with government support, sought to transform the life of the Seneca people so that the unity of the people as a Nation and the unity of the Nation with the land would be broken. All Indian peoples were to be subject to this process in its various manifestations, but the Seneca, because of their location and their strength, were among the first.

The missionaries shrewdly understood that the transformation of a community occurs in two interdependent ways: changing the economic relations of the people to the land and to each other, and changing the structure of the community, particularly in the way that decisions were made.

"The converted Indians desired possession of their tribal government to protect themselves and to expand civilization through the allotment of annuities for schools, farm implements, and other aids. These Indians, frequently at the behest of missionaries, often favored new governmental forms which immitated white political institutions. Control of these new forms supposedly gave the Christian Indians more opportunity and power to change those aspects of their neighbors' behavior that they regarded as primitive, hence shameful. Because of the interconnectedness of all social institutions, one of the best indexes of response to missionary operations and to white culture in general, therefore, is the struggle over governmental position and structure." (Berkhofer, 1965)

The first took the form of encouraging fragmented agriculture performed by separate households on private tracts. Although this method was alien to Seneca ways, (the had long lived in large communal longhouses,) the change was relatively easy because the missionaries tied the gift of the "mysteries" of agricultural technology (the iron plow, etc.) to adoption of this new system. The second was an attempt to establish a new form of government based on the election of representatives to make decisions for the people.

Representative democracy would affect the unity of the people by creating political parties and separating the vast majority of the people from the decision-making process. The idea behind these changes was to introduce the concept of the importance of the individual over the community, in order to destroy the Indian concept of a Nation.

The emphasis that the Christian missionaries and the U.S. government placed on agriculture and democracy seems to be nonsense considering the long Seneca tradition of growing crops (many of which became staples on the European table) and the direct democracy of the Council Fire and Great Tree of Peace of the Six Nations Confederacy. It is important, then, to examine what these words mean to the white man and how he applies them to the Indian people.

In European thinking, agriculture was always (in Christian times) associated with private property ownership and use and with the nuclear family. It was based on the biblical command for man to go out and subdue the earth, and represents the consciousness of domination. Indian farming, on the other hand, was done communally with a consciousness of participation and harmony with the earth.

Why then was it necessary for the European to impose "agriculture" on the Indian? One reason is the logic of domination that says, "Only my way is blessed by God, everything else is of the Devil." A second, and perhaps more important, was the desire for Indian land. In the late 19th century, the churches and government encouraged agriculture and allotment of Indian lands at a time when the rest of the nation was industrializing. This "assimilation" policy was therefore not designed to bring the Indian into the mainstream of American life, but rather to destroy the tribal community with its connections to Mother Earth in order to break Indian resistance to the taking of the land and to "legalize" the process of the taking. Within 30 years of the passage of this law, over one-third of land that had remained with the Indians was under white wonership.

The concept of democracy is more complex. For the white man, who has in his history absolute authoritarian rule by one man, or a small group of men, with near or actual slavery for the majority, representative democracy through elective systems reduced the domination of man over man and therefore expanded liberty and democracy. For the Seneca, however, all decisions that affected the community were made by all the people. Unless a consensus was reached by the total community, a decision was not considered to have been made. To the Seneca people, the idea that certain individuals should be elected to make decisions for all the people resulted in a *reduction* of democracy and meant that a small group of people could impose their decisions on the rest.

The white man's myth of the elected system (ala John Locke) holds that isolated individuals come together to form these governments in order to protect their property, and that this government will only increase its scope and power according to needs of the community. Its only reason for existence is to serve the people.

If we examine the history of the Seneca elective system, in terms of this ideal standard, we will find that the standard itself is alien to Seneca tradition and that the Council has only served the governments of the United States andYork State, as well as the local white business community. At its creation the elected council's only authority was to administer the annual annuities paid by the U.S. under treaties by distributing them to the ***heads of households.*** Formerly the annuities had been used for the benefit of the community as a whole.

From the outset, then, the elected system was used by the U.S. and the missionaries to attack the traditional tribal way of placing the welfare of the community first and instead encouraged, through the "head of household" distribution method, the idea of the separateness of each individual or small family. It was only authorized by its original constitution to meet once a year for this purpose. The first elected council received its sanction not from the Seneca people, who were deeply devided over it in a very difficult period of their history, but from the governments of the U.S. and New York.

In 1849, the State of New York passed legislation recognizing the new governmental system and incorporating it into state law. The federal government, under the advice of the Quakers and the government's own paid interpretors also recognized the legitimacy of the new system. It was never clear that even a bare majority of the Senecas favored the concept of elected councillors and majority rule. The sense of the Senecas was determined by the United States according to whether or not the heads of households accepted or rejected the alloted annuity payments.

This questionable (to say the least) method of polling, in which the Senecas were not aware that they were being polled also has significant overtones of bribery. For years afterward, the elected councils sent delegations to Washington and Albany for the blessings of the President and Governor.

It was the desire of the missionaries and other whites with an interest in the continuing existence of the elective system, that those opposing the system would soon form a political party and compete for power within it. In so doing, the supporters of the ancient Seneca form of direct democracy would in effect be accepting the legitimacy of the new system and thus strengthening it.

Although the Old Chiefs Party did win power through elections on three occasions in the 1850s and 1860s and attempted to abolish this alien system, they were unsuccessful. Their efforts could not succeed because the existence of the system depended not on the support of the people, which the Old Chiefs had, but on the support of the U.S. and New York State and on the corruption of many of the Christian faction who would not even follow their own rules.

On three occassions in the 19th Century, the Senecas clearly resolved to throw off the council and return to the traditional government of chiefs. At one point, the Six Nations Confederacy participated in the raising of chiefs, with the support of four of the five elected councillors. But the elected President chose new councillors to replace them and successfully appealed to the U.S. government for support. (In 1972, an effort was made to advise the Seneca people of the process of raising chiefs at the Newtown Longhouse on Cattaraugus. Confederacy chiefs were met on the road by a group of armed men who forceably prevented them from conducting the gathering.)

The continuing participation of the Seneca in the elective system did have its desired effect. The Seneca Nation removed itself from the Confederacy and gradually began to forget its tradition of community decisions on community issues with the full participation of everyone. As the people grew more apathetic and more conditioned to being told what to do, the elective system could more easily be manipulated by the goverument and business interests and in turn manipulate the people through briberies, jobs, "grants," and legalities. That the old (democratic) ways demonstrated their strength and importance in the modern world at places like Onondaga and Grand River and in the Seneca Longhouses was largely ignored by succeeding generations of Senecas who were ignornat of their traditions and of the importance of the destruction of those traditions to financial interests both inside and outside of the reservation.

The expansion of the powers of the elective system over its 125 years of existence did not come as a result of responses to the increased needs of the Seneca people. That expansion came from the increased needs of the white community over Seneca lands. At each point in which white interests (including government) expanded their economic contacts with the Seneca Reservations, the elective system expanded its functions to administer these transactions.It was not long before the elective system began to behave like a corporation board of directors with the appearance of a government. A great deal of attention was paid to the private interests of the officers and councillors.

If any benefit was derived from these transactions, it involved only a few well-placed Senecas, because the Nation as a whole usually emerged from them with less land. The elective system first grew in scope in order to administer moneys from timber interests and the railroads; later from land speculators allied with the Christian faction who received Congressionally mandated leases for Salamanca (a city on the Seneca lands,) and other villages, and oil leases contracted from 1875 to 1896 under a cloud of corruption that resulted in an ineffectual (though successful) impeachment of a Nation president in 1879 and a federal government investigation in 1897. In the 1870s, over one-third of the Allegany Reservation was leased to whites by the council. More recently, the need to administer money from these leases, from the U.S. government through the Kinzua Dam settlement with its termination provision, and from HEW grants have all contributed to an expansion in the powers of the elective system.

These "agreements" and "grants" tied the Seneca lands and resources more and more to the white legal system. The tribal "leaders," however, were not knowledgeable in this system and were forced by their ignorance to rely almost totally on the opinions of an attorney. In the legal world, a lawyer is an advocate for his client – he represents the interests of his clients against all competing interests. Tribal attorneys are not permitted to be this. For a lawyer to become a tribal attorney he must first be accepted by the Bureau of Indian Affairs of the Interior Department.

In addition to this, his contract with the tribe or nation must also be approved by the BIA. This offers the Nation some protection against unscrupulous lawyers in theory, but in practice the tribal attorney is often subject to compromise through the influence of the BIA.

This is particularly the case whenever Indian people are in a dispute with the U.S. government or with corporate interests that act in accordance with government policy. In earlier times these attorneys were appointed and paid for by the State of New York. The rise in fluence of the tribal attorney has made the elective system even more a servant of federal, state, and corporate Indian policy and not of the Seneca people.

What then is the position of the elective system in 1978? It is a corporation, not a nation. It promises the Seneca Nation only a further exchange of land for money. It promises a form of termination, more sinister than any that could come from federal legislation – termination of the spirit of the people, of the community and its ancient ways, of the land and its ability to support all of the people. In return for the enrichment of a few people of the present generation, it squanders the resources that belong to all the generations of the Senecas.

INDIAN COUNTRY

It was nearly evening when we spotted the mailbox that signalled our arrival at our destination. The backroads of Eastern Oklahoma were unfamiliar to Indians accustomed to high-speed interstate highways, and the little dirt road leading over the hill was a welcome signt. Wild flowers encircled most of the fields in this area. The tilled fields are largely worked by white farmers who lease Indian lands or who had acquired Indian allotments. The land lying fallow turned out to be the remaining Indian lands.

The dirt road led us over a rise to a dmall tarpaper house. As we approached this obviously very humble dwelling, a amall man with a large balck hat came into focus. Quietly smoking a cigarette, he extended his hand in greeting as Larry and I approached from our parked car.

We had come to his place at this invitation to participate in a stomp dance scheduled for later that evening. It was a relief to be out in open country again after a week in the Holiday Inn of Oklahoma City.

Our host took us on a casual walking tour of the 170-acre allotment he and his family share with his mother. His boys were still rototilling their vegetable garden while rows of young corn plants took on an amber hue from the sun which was now low on the western horizon.

"It's time to sweat, boys, time to cleanse your body of that Oklahoma City dust."

On the way to the sweat lodge I commented to Larry on how well-behaved the children were. All the children seem to have responsibilities and went about their tasks without complaint. "They all speak Indian, too," Larry added.

The path to the sweat lodge was well-worn, indicating some period of fairly continual use. A large bass broke the surface of the pond. It hung in the air for a moment before falling lazily into the water.

The sweat lodge sat in tall grass in a tiny glen surrounded by blackjacks and a few pecan trees. I undressed apprehensively not knowing what poisons had entered my body since my last sweat. It seems to go harder on you when you haven't been living correctly. The food at the Holiday Inn had left a knot in my stomach that became quite pronounced.

Once in the sweat lodge, my apprehension eased as the comfort of the womb enveloped us. In measured tones that revealed English was not the language of choice in this setting, our host went on to explain his way of life and how important the sweat lodge is to his family's existence.

He had worked hard to preserve his traditional ways. All his children speak their language. "They participate in the ceremonies and dances of their people," he said. He had a justified pride in his children. He didn't care if no one else followed the traditional ways. He would still do it because he knew it was right.

After four rounds of rather intense heat, a quick dip in the pond cooled us enough to enable us to head to the house. Dinner had been prepared by the women while we sweated. Real Indian food – wild greens, home-grown chicken, gravy, pan bread and herbal tea – what a dramatic change from our plastic urban diet. Our host continued the discussion on how he had nothing in the white man's material sense, but had everything – a good family, independence, and happiness. "What more could a person desire?" Right at that moment, sitting in that little house, savouring the contentment evident in this wonderful family, it was truly difficult to imagine anything.

An Assembly Of Indigenous Chiefs

Xavante Village, S. Marcos, Mato Grosso Brazil

The Indian delegates and other visitors were housed in two wood-and-thatch "hotels" constructed by the Xavantes in the centre of their village especially to house their guests. They were excellent hosts, and had organized the teams of cooks, washers-up, and clothes-washers to attend to the guests. Of course, this work was all done by the Xavante women, who although they did the hard work, did not participate in the assembly. Two cows were slaughtered to feed the 100-plus people who attended the talks every day, and when the meat ran out, there was plenty of rice, beans and sweet and bitter manioc to make up the meal.

Every night the Xavantes and representatives of other tribes danced and sang in the centre of the village – the Ericbaktsa Indians of the north of Mago Grosso brought their huge flutes and ankle rattles with them, and some of their feather decorations, and although there were only four, did their best to demonstrate their tribal dances and music. Afterwards, in the hammocks hung densely in the longhouses, the Indians continued to sing softly, or to talk late into the night.

By 3:30 or 4:00 a.m. the village was awake again, as the Xavante sang their morning song Dadzarono *to rouse the sleepers. A breakfast of* canjacaa, *maize kernels boiled with sugar, which had been bubbling all night in a vast pot over the central fire, was warming as everyone shivered in the mist, slowly lifting to reveal the cool early morning sun. People went down to the river to bathe from a sandy beach, or stood around chatting until 7:30 or 8 o'clock when the session began.*

Before noon, we stopped for lunch, sitting on long logs under the trees in the shade, eating with our hands and talking, watching half-starved dogs scratch and sfuffle in the dust for fallen rice, a few beans. It was during these in-between times, and at night, that the informal contacts were made that perhaps in the long run are more important than what is said during the assemblies themselves. Then the Indians share ideas and experiences, make friends, forge alliances, exchange gifts, plan future contacts.

On the way home after the Assembly, some 30 of us – Xavante, Bororo, Karaja, Pareci, volunteers, journalists, priest and even two bishops who had come up for the last day – all crushed into the back of a truck. We travelled singing throughout the evening, warmed in the copper light of a vivid Mato Grosso sunset, and in the shared hope that the Indians had taken one more step towards unity and strength in the fight for survival. The words of one of the Indians, shouted out in the assembly, rang in my head:

"Our cry is raised to the four corners of the country, to to demand projects of health and community development. These are secondary in the historical drama currently being played out by the Indigenous people of Brazil. Of importance to us now is the guarantee of our land, our heritage and the cradle of our cultural traditions... It is the centre of our strength and our unity. It is the unity of a people which must not cease to exist."

"United in the single sentiment of our cravings and struggles, we wish to bring to the attention of the public our efforts to realize our aspirations as peoples.

Before anything else, we wish to make it clear that the initiative for the meeting and the declarations is purely and solely the Indians'. This is contrary to what many think, principally those who are interested in exterminating the indigenous societies, saying that "the priests are the instigators of the Indians." This simply is a serious error, for they do not wish to recognise that we are capable of identifying, discussing and solving our own problems..."

So begins a Declaration read out by one of the Indian delegates to the XI Assembly of Indigenous Chiefs, held in the Xavante village at Sao Marcos, in northern Mato Gross, May 15 to 19, 1978.

Here sixty-six Indigenous delegates, most of them the chiefs of their tribes, met to represent the interests of some 15,000 Indians of 17 different nations from all over Brazil. They came from the southernmost states of Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina, from the northwestern tip of Brazil at its frontier with Columbia, in Amazonia from the northeastern limit of Brazil at its border with French Guyana, in the Territory of Amapa, from all over northern Mato Grosso in the country's centre, and from the Xingu Park. The Indians travelled by bus, aeroplane, riverboat and on the open backs of trucks and lorries to attend the largest national assembly the Indians of Brazil have ever held.

In fact, it was an international assembly, by virtue of the presence of four Indians representing two tribes from Paraguay. One of the Paraguayans, a Guarani Indian, is the chief of the national Paraguayan Federation of Indigenous people, an Indigenous organization which financed the travel of the four delegates.

1978 is a year of especial significance for Indian affairs, as the end of the year marks the deadline established by Brazilian law five years ago for the demarcation of all Indian lands by FUNAI, the National Indian Foundation and Government body responsible for Indian affairs. This is far from being realized due to FUNAI's inefficiency and pressure from Government and other economic interests which are still trying to wrest the last of the Indians' land from them.

One after the other, Indians of the tribes of the Karaja, Pareci, Nambikwara, Kayabi, Kaingang, Xavante, amongst others, stood up and described the same battle being fought all over Brazil – the always-broken promises of FUNIA to demarcate the land; the renting

of their land by FUNAI to cattle farmers; the exploitation of the land's resources (such as wood, and Brazil nuts,) by FUNAI, (and all for the profit of FUNAI:) the building of roads right through the reserves. They also heard of the intrusion into Indian land by "colonists" – landless peasants relocated on plots of land by large "development" schemes; the establishment of hydro-electric plants and military posts on reserve land, and so on. In short, the central theme of the meeting was the struggle to maintain what is the Indians' right by law, as laid down in the Brazilian Constitution: the right to exclusive usofruct of the land on which they live.

A Tucano Indian, representing the numerous Indians of the Rio Negro Valley, in Amazonas, said,

"One very important thing I've learned is that the Indians all over Brazil have the same problems, and the main one is land. No Indian land is secure."

The Xavante chief, Aniceto, who was host to the Assembly, spoke at length on the subject.

"The whites say there were no Indians on the land. But we know, we were born there, we know it there, we grew up there. And now, the Indians are gathering up arms, to defend the lands where our fathers and grandfathers lived. In those times, it was the whites who didn't exist, the landowners didn't exist, the rumble of trucks didn't exist, the voice of cattle didn't exist. Only the Indians were here, in all of Brazil.

But now, the criminal government is selling the Indians' land, without the Indian knowing, they go on selling. The farmers came, pretending to be the Indians friend, but they have already marked out the land they want, flown over the land, and made out a map, saying: this is my land, not the Indians'.

How many times have the Indians lost their land? How many tribes are losing their land now?"

And a Pareci Indian declared:

"At this opportunity we wish to call with all the Indians, and not only the Indians, but all those who in good faith desire the well-being of the Indian. That the promise of FUNAI five years ago to demarcate, within the term of five years, all the Indians' lands, be kept. The failure to accomplish this, the promised term of which expires this year, will be the greatest crime against the indigenous societies that the official indigenous agency could inflict."

All the delegates spoke out strongly against the destructiveness of white society and its unacceptable values. The whites, in their relations with Indians, were found to be deceitful, ruthless, and full of greed.

"Why," asked a Galibi Indian, "does the white man want to subordinate all the races of the world? Why does the white man come after our land, then he himself says he is rich and we are poor?"

A Kaingang Indian (whose group has just expelled a group of farmers, who, including the local mayor, have been invading the Indians' reserve for ten years) said:

"Whites came into our land and killed Indians, and then stayed, untroubled, in our reserve. So I don't want any more whites on my land. They are criminals and destroy the Indians' life."

The Indians were unanimous in their condemnation of the Government policy of integration into Brazilian national society, which they feel effectively means the destruction and disappearance of Indian society. All felt that their values of communal living and mutual support and sharing of resources were far superior tot he whites' individualism and acquisitiveness. While many recognized and acknowledged the advantages of bilingualism, literacy and access to technology, they had no desire to be absorbed into white society and accept its values.

Drunkenness was frequently quoted as one of the ills of white society, and several Indians pointed out that their use of hallucinogenic and other herbs was in a religious and curing context fo the good of the community, while the white man abused alcohol, drank on his own, and became violent.

The Indians lamented the introduction of alcohol into Indian society, and the Xavante spoke of the whites using alcohol to deceive Indians, making them drunk in order to rob them.

con inued

An Assembly of Indigenous Chiefs (cont.)

A new euphemism – "emancipation" – has recently been introduced by the Government to substitute integration. FUNAI's Indigenous Council (in which not one single Indian participates) is studying "emancipation" at the present time, and the Indians are fearful of the results.

The term refers to the emancipation of the Indian from the tutelage of FUNAI, which means the Indian, or group judged fit for it, will be given the rights of any Brazilian citizen (which don't amount to very much), and be released from his condition of a minor under Brazilian law. It also means that FUNAI will be exonerated from any responsibility to these minority groups, who will be at the mercy of powerful interest groups, **and means that the reserves occupied by the Indian revert to the State. In compensation, the Indian may receive individual plots of land in his own name.**

The Indians see the policy as yet another stragegy to rob them of their lands. At the Assembly they declared: "We wish to declare that the emancipation of the Indian will be achieved by the Indians themselves, and not by those who in closed offices are divorced from the Indian reality. The indigenous areas must be documented as collective property."

The Indians are mostly caught on the horns of a dilemma. under existing Brazilian law: as tribal Indians, conserving their traditional social structure, they are considered minors, thus deprived of ordinary civil rights, and they live on reserve land which belongs to the State, which reserves the right to "intervene" in indigenous areas under various conditions, including the "imposition of national security," the realization of public works of interest t national development, the repression of widespread disturbances, and the exploitation of riches of the subsoil of relevent interest to security and national development. (Indian Statute, Law 6001 [1973], Art. 20, ss. I)

But in order to gain full civil rights, the Indian has to prove that he is "completely integrated into the national community" (Ibid. Art 4 I) which means relinquishing tribal society and reserve land. The land thus reverts to the State, and each Indian "family unit" (in many tribes this would include many of what Western society considers a "family unit") may apply for a registered plot of land from the Ministry of Agriculture.

This would cause the effective breakdown of family structure, traditional economic patterns and general **social organization and would also mean the loss of the major part of the Indians' land, as the lots are not likely to be large one, and their sum will be considerably** smaller than the area of the reserves at the moment. Given the total amount of land the State stands to regain by this strategy, and the politics of land in Brazil today, it is not difficult to see that the Ministry of the Interior is under some pressure to push this policy through.

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RUSSELL MEANS HURT AT SIOUX FALLS PENITENTIARY

A white inmate stabed Russell Means in the chest during a recreation period inside South Dakota State Penitentiary at about 11:00 am on September 16, 1978. The assasination attempt occurred less than two hours before a major rally which had been called by AIM on behalf of Means. Means' wound was described as superficial and he returned to the prison in the early afternoon in time to hold a press conference with Marlon Brando. Means said that he saw the attack as an attempt to create racial tension inside the prison. He stated that the purpose of the two-day rally was to expose the inequities of the South Dakota prison system, and to secure a lawyer for all the inmates in Sioux Falls Penitentiary.

The stabing incident came shortly after Means had ended a 36-day fast. During the Longest Walk, he had announced that in prison, he would begin a spiritual fast. The fast was intended to expose the racism and injustice of the South Dakota judicial system. His brother Ted described the fast as a sacrifice to the people and to the Spirit. During the fast, many prisoners supported Means by refusing to eat. At one point, over half of the prison's population turned their backs on the food line.

Indian inmates also formed an AIM chapter there. Warden Solem had allegedly expressed to several people that he didn't want Means in his prison. Originally, Means had a commitment to fast until he was free, or until he died.

Means was convicted on charges arising out of an incident at the Sioux Falls courthouse in 1974. During that time he on trial in St. Paul, Minn., on charges arising out of the occupation of Wounded Knee in 1973. Sarah Bad Heart Bull, David Hill, Kenneth Dall, and Bob High Eagle went before Judge Bottoms on charges that they had rioted at the Custer courthouse in February of 1973. The trial was moved to Sioux Falls because of prejudice against the defendants in Custer. That incident occurred when AIM and other community members demonstrated for legal actions against Wesley Bad Heart Bull's killer, a white businessman. A confrontation between police and Indian people led to several arrests.

Sarah Bad Heart Bull is Wesley's mother and she and the other defendants were the first people to be tried for the Custer incident.

Then, Ramon Roubideaux, the defense lawyer, refused to select jurors during the jury selection process. His action came in response to Judge Bottom's refusal to rule on a defense motion. At the time, Roubideaux had a petition before the State Supreme Court asking that

Judge Bottom be forced to rule on the motion. Bottom held the defense team in contempt of court on April 27, 1974. The next day, a courtroom full of Indian supporters refused to stand for Judge Bottom in a symbolic protest against his court. Bottom ordered the court cleared and the sherrif and his assistants removed the Indian people nonviolently.

No court was held the following Monday, and on Tuesday Bottom limited the number of Indian people admitted to the courtroom to about fifteen. When those people refused to stand, Bottom ordered the first two rows cleared. However, before that could happen, Russell Means, Vernon Bellecourt, some members of the Community Relations Service of the Justice Department, and some church representatives entered into negotiations with the judge. These negotiations failed and the judge refused to begin the proceedings until the people would stand.

He asked Russell Means to tell the Indian people to stand. Means delivered the message of the judge word for word and then said, "I must sit with my people." He then proceeded to sit in the third or fourth row. At about 11:00 am the director of the tactical squad came into the courtroom an informed the sheriff that he was taking over. The tactical squad moved into the room swinging riot batons. They were equipped with full riot gear.

Defendant David Hill was first hit. He was almost blinded in one eye. Russell Means was hit next and a full-scale battle broke out in and around the courthouse. Four bishops and twelve clergymen were present as observers. One of the bishops said that if Means was guilty of inciting to riot, "there would have to be a rule somewhere that Judge Bottom and the police were inciting to riot."

Later the judge was quoted as saying, "they were asking for it, so I let them have it."

Indian people were arrested and in 1975 the trials began. Vernon Bellecourt and four others who had been outside the building were acquitted by Judge Braithwaite, in the summer of 1975 for reasons that they could not be tried by an impartial jury. Braithwaite was heavily criticized by local press for that decision. When the Means trial came up in the fall, over two hundred jurors were screened and the defense felt that it was impossible to obtain a fair jury. Braithwaite refuse to acquit on that basis, and the defense moved to waive the right to a jury on October 9, 1975.

This move allowed the judge to hand down a verdict. Breathwaite ruled that Means was not guilty to the charge of criminal damage of proterty, but that he was guilty of riot to obstruct justice. Means was released on bail with included provisions that he could not participate in AIM activities, but that he could continue his work with the International Indian Treaty Council.

In September 1977, the South Dakota Supreme Court revoked Means' bail on a motion by South Dakota attorney general William Janklow charging Means with bail violation because of Means' attendance at a meeting at Sisseton which Janklow considered an AIM activity. That action came just as Means was scheduled to be the opening speaker at an international conference held in Geneva, Switzerland. Means' lawyers were able to secure an extension of the date on which he would be required to report to prison. Later, ten days after he had reported to prison, Federal Judge Nichol ruled that the bail requirement was unconstitutional and Means was again released on bail.

Presently Russell Means has a petition before judge Nichol to reverse his conviction on the grounds that he did not receive his right to be tried by an impartial jury and that the charge of riot to obstruct justice is unconstitutional.

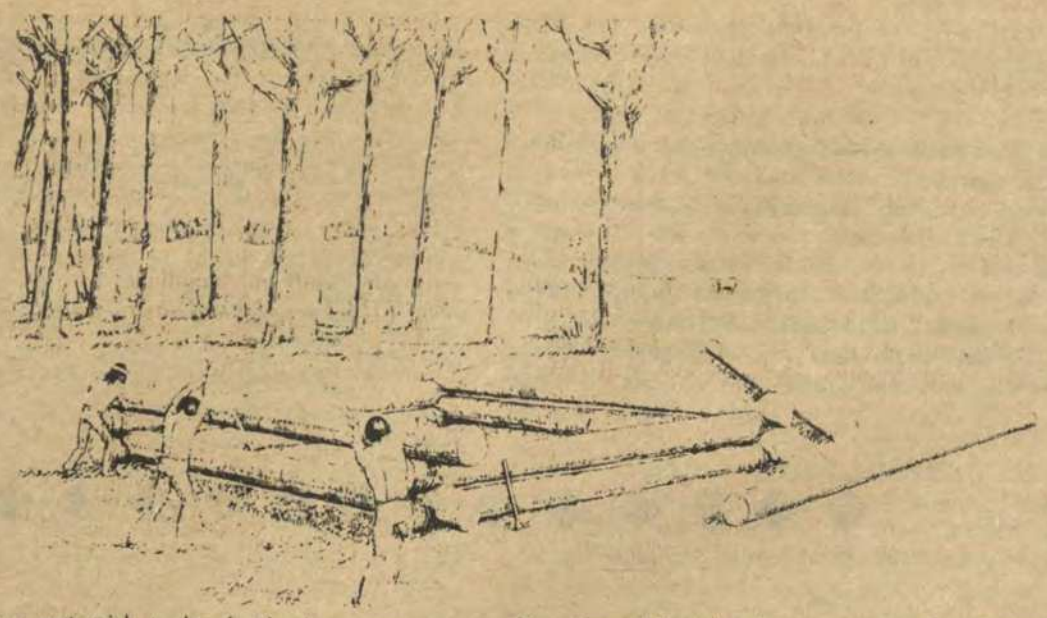
For more information: Committee to Free Russell Means, % Kenneth Tilsen, 400 Minnesota Bldg., St. Paul, Minn. 55101.

by Scott Raymond

BUILDING A FUTURE

TAKE THINGS INTO YOUR OWN HANDS:

(The following reports were exerpted from NATIVE SELF-SUFFICIENCY, a newsletter printed in Northern California. These particular selections come from the August, 197 edition.)



Traditionally Native homes were superbly adapted to our way of life and the Natural World. From the tipis of the Plains and the longhouses of the Northwest Coast and Eastern Woodlands, to the adobe dwellings of the Southwest, all evolved uniquely in harmony with their local environment and utilied locally available materials. When a new home was needed, the family and in many cases the community came together to privide it. Our leaders took care to see our people were warm and secure in the most severe weather.

Today this sense of community that insured adequate housing fo all our people has been largely replaced by impersonal programs such as HUD, BIA, and HIP (Housing Improvement Program.) The community no longer enacts the responsibility to house its people. Everything is now dependent on outside capital and in most cases, outside labor.

Elders go for years living in unhealthy homes because there are no funds available while large delegations of tribal bureaucrats travel thousands of miles to party at a housing conference.

The homes that are built by "Indian" housing programs are most often inadequately designed and poorly constructed. Few things are more epressing than the monotonous rows of cheap emulations of white suburban housing, or the infamous "cluster" housing that have been perpetrated against our people in many of our territories. The houses are designed and constructed with total disregard for the local environment. In Maine, where high-pitched roofs are necessary due to the severe winter snows, homes more suited to the temperate climates of the Pacific Northwest are commonly constructed. In the Pueblos of the Southwest, where adobe building has proven its superior insulating qualities and general reliability over the centuries, wood frame houses are being built.

Simple design elements, such as orienting the houses to achieve maximum benefit of the heat of the sun, or to avoid the chilling effects of the winter winds, seem to have escaped the contractors in their rush to maximie their profit through standardied construction. It provides people with a new level of awareness — Indian housing is not built for people, it is built for profits!

The Indian Housing Authorities which were established to manage this mess have often become another disruptive intrusion of the United States government into our communities. Every community has its own localized horror story of political in-fighting to control the housing authority, access to new homes or rental property, and in some cases, financial mismanagement. The housing authorities also have to take on the distasteful task of displacing their own people who are unable or unwilling to keep up their payments. Long-term debt, one of the "blessings" of American society, is unknown to many of our people. The low-cost housing which is presently being constructed, as strange as it may seem, is often too expensive for the poorest of the Indian people. Indeed, it is too expensive for a good many non-Indian people as well.

There are, however, many sincere people involved in Indian housing programs. They do want to meet the critical housing needs of their people and currently see only one alternative. We encourage these people to be creative with the housing money they control. They should be concerned about design and its relationship to culture and the local environment, and be prepared to fight for quality appropriate housing for their people.

For those who o not wish to hassle the bureaucracy and white tape of these programs, we encourage you to build it! Rediscover the joy, pride and sense of community that comes from communally built homes!

Many contemporary architectural designs are based on principles of traditional Native dwelling design and orientation. More and moe Native dwellings are being recognied as forerunners of contemporary design principles. This is especially true of solar arcitecture. The pueblos of the Southwest are good examples of basic solar design principles applied with great sophistication.

The cliff dwellings were situated so that the homes were sheltered by the cliffs from the high summer sun while warmed by the low winter sun. The thick adobe walls of the pueblos absorb the heat from the sun during the day and then radiate the heat into the interior during the night. The Acoma Pueblo, in particular, gives a good example of architectural orientation to the sun. Even in December, when the sun is lowest on the horizon but its heat is needed most, no south-facing wall is shaded by an adjacent building. Thus it allows maximum benefit of the sun's warmth.

The pueblo of Boniot in Chaco Canyon, in what is now called New Mexico, is another good example. The Pueblo, now in ruins, was multi-tiered and semi-circular in design. The orientation was based on the position of the sun at the summer and winter solstice and set to maximize the solar radiation in the winter. Despite seasonal and daily temperature variations, the temperature of the interior of the buildings remained as evenly balanced as possible. Again, the thick adobe walls served as a "heat sink" to soak up the solar energy during the day and e-radiate it into the interior at night.

Recent research at Pueblo Bonito confirms that while the external thermal range for January was 18 degrees Centigrade, the interior thermal range was less than 1 degree Centigrade, making the temperature variation indoors very slight. The temperature of the outside areas of the pueblo was tempered by the fact that they were sheltered from the winter wind by the arc of the pueblo design. Also, the sun's energy was re-radiated onto the outside areas of the pueblo by the high exterior, northern walls, and the face of the nearby cliffs.

LOG CABINS

When a pre-fab house on the Fort Peck Reservation burned down and needed to be replaced, the Fort Peck Housing Authority decided to try something new. A desire was expressed to replace the burned one with a log house. A "kit" was purchased from the mountains nearby (for a whopping $40,000!), and an all-Indian crew of local folks (partially CETA-funded) assembled it. The finished cabin was met with 100% approval. The Housing Authority then asked fo 30 more units from HUD. Of those 30, 16 were approved.

Other reservations are now making requests for similar HUD grants. Hopefully, some way can be found in the future to avoid the high cost of buying the "kits." Since part of the appeal of a "real" log cabin is its rustic appearance and low cost, something needs to be done to lower the sky-high price tag.

For those folks who have access to forest areas, the best bet for a low-cost yet durable and beautiful house could be a log cabin. The advantages of building you own log cabin are numerous. The skill is easily learned, with the main requirement being patience. The sense of respect and pride in the owner-built home in inevitable. The 30-year mortgage is avoided.

Log cabins can be built for very little money, with a limited number of tools and equipment, and are built to the builder's own design and needs. Because of the insulation factor of wood, less energy is needed to heat it than conventional frame homes. And a log house is much more durable than a frame house. There are many two-hundred year old log cabins all over North America, buildings constructed in the days when craftsmen took pride in their wok.

People's tastes tell a lot about their own particular politics and the effects of their individual socialization histories. There are places in North America where people feel that balogna is a superior food to fresh meat because balogna costs money and fresh meat can be procured by any skilled, albeit moneyless, hunter. (Of course, any 'educated' person knows that fresh meat is a far superior food to processed bologna.) The same goes for housing. A lot of people like the prestige of owning a matchbox house simply because it cost a lot of money to build. But people who know anything about quality and about workmanship recognie immediately that a well-built log cabin, one which is built from individual logs and not from machine-turned poles, is a work of art and a thing of beauty. And anyone who knows anything about building materials also knows that the match-box BIA housing will never last even a century – indeed, it is questionable that such housing can outlast the mortgage!

The big question that most people ask is – Where does one learn the skills necessary for building a log house The best way, of course, is to find someone to teach you. If you don't know anyone personally, there are places you can go to take classes. One of these places is the BAR E Ranch Log House Construction School.

The classes are taught by Skip Ellsworth at the Bar E Ranch located near Seattle, Washington. He has been building log cabins for thirty years and teaching classes for nine years. He generally offers classes every 6–8 weeks. Classes are scheduled accoding to the number of inquiries he receives.

This is the first licensed school for log house building in the United States, if that is important. The classes are designed for men and women with no previous construction experience. The 18-hour course is concentrated and completed in one weekend. Skip claims that is all the time necessary to learn how to build a log house. He also sets aside one day per month as a review day for former students to come and ask any questions that may have arisen, or to just review the processes. Course fees are: $20/ person; $30/ couple; over 65, free.

If interested in taking the course, contact:

Skip Ellsworth
Bar E Ranch
Redmond, Washington 98052
(206) 885-4972

BUILDING WITH ADOBE

Making adobe bricks is a relatively simple operation, however, it is a lot of hard work. If you can get past the hard work, you will find that the beauty and practicality of adobe dwellings is evident throughout the Southwest.

First, find the soil you're going to use. It should be a mix of somewhat equal portions of clay, sand, and fine silt. Soil with a high organic content won't work too well, so save the black, loamy soil for the garden. To check proportions of sand, clay, and silt, put a handful of the soil you're going to use in a glass jar with some water. Shake well until it turns to mud. Let it sit until the solids settle out and the water is clear. The sand and silt will settle fairly rapidly while the clay will take a little longer.

It's best to make a few test bricks before starting production. If there is too much clay, the bricks will shrink more than they should and crack. If there's too much sand, the bricks will crumble and/or erode easily from water. Amend the soil with either sand or clay as needed.

Mix the mud thoroughly. It's easiest to let it soak well in a pit. Mix well with a mixer or a hoe (or your feet – a method by which you can really get into your work.) Some folks say to add strow while others swear it's not needed. See what works best for you. If you want to add it, chop it into 4" lengths and be careful not to add too much because it can weaken the bricks.

Place your form on a level, dry place where the bricks can remain to dry. Sprinkle a little sand on the surface. Fill the mold with mud. The mud should be think enough to stand on its own when the form is lifted, without much slumping. Work the mud into all the corners of the mold. Use a trowel to level the mud to the top of the mold. Lift the mold slowly and carefully to avoid sticking or pulling of a corner. Wash the mold before making the next brick or it will stick to the mold.

Let the bricks dry for three or four days, then turn them up on edge to finish drying. Let them cure for two to four weeks before using. The bricks, by this time, should be quite hard and resistant to scratching or crumbling. Stack the bricks close to where they'll be used to avoid having to restack them later.

Stabilizers, such as Portland Cement or asphalt emulsion can be added to the mud to produce stronger, erosion-resistant, code approved bricks.

MOLDS

The mold is merely four boards nailed (or screwed) together to form a rectangle of the dimensions equired. A standard sie that seems to be appropriate in terms of weight, insulation, and wall strength is 10"x4"x14". Of course, some refinements make handling the mold a little easier. Handles on the side are almost a must. Some people also like to line the inside with tin to facilitate easy removal. You can also make a double (or more) mold to form more than one at a time. Don't make it too big or it will be hard to handle. For further information about adobe see:

Adobe: Build it Yourself, P.G. McHenry Jr., University of Arizona Press, Tuscon, Arizona, 1973.

Handbook For Building Homes of Earth, Wolfskill, Office of International Affairs, Dept. of Housing and Urban Development, Washington, D.C., 20410.

Making the Adobe Brick, Eugene Bondreau, Fifth Street Press, Berkely, Ca., 1971.

ADOBE NEWS, P.O. Box 702, Las Lunas, New Mexico 87031. $8.00/ 6 issues.

POLE CONSTRUCTION

The staff of AKWESASNE NOTES, faced with a housing shortage, decided to take matters into their own hands. Armed with a copy of *Pole Building Constructionn*, (available from AKWESASNE NOTES for $4.95,) limited carpentry experience but tremendous zeal, they built two small homes in three weeks last fall. The smallest measured 16' X 20', with a conventional peaked roof. The larger house is a 20' X 30' rectangular structure with a barn-like hip roof. This roof allowed enough head room for a loft to be built over one-half of the floor space of the house.

The loft is used for sleeping by four children. Both homes used eight-inch poles cut on NOTES property for the foundation, walls, and roof support. Green, rough-cut lumber from a local mill was used for the floors, oof, and diagonal wall bracing.

Fiberboard was utilied for the exterior walls. Second-hand windows and doors, plus commercial insulation and rolled roofing completed the picture. The homes are not mansions, lacking electricity and plumbing, but are sturdy and cheap, the largest with the half loft costing only $1,250 for materials. Construction was done totally by staff and friends utilizing only hand tools. (No electricity, remember.) People were kept warm through an especially tough Northern Adirondacks winter, where one 24-hour period registered a 48" snowfall, and temperatures sometimes reached almost fifty below.

Other books on pole building:

The FHA Pole House Construction, 1971, American Wood Preservers Institute. 1651 Old Meadow Rd., McLean, Virginia 22101.

TIPIS

One dwelling design that is almost universally recognied as being of Native origin is the tipi. The tipi was extremely well-adapted to the traditional, nomadic plains lifestyle and has recently enjoyed a resurgence of popularity among both Indians and non-Indians alike.

The sheer beauty of the tipi is unequaled and the utility as a movable dwelling is also excelled. The tipi is roomy and comfortable, cool in the summer and warm in the winter. It is well-vented and well-lighted. Adaptable to changing weather conditions, it can withstand high winds and heavy rains, and if necessary, it can be pitched by a single person. One rarely needs convincing of the beauth and utility of the design.

For those interested in making their own tipi, I suggest if you can't learn first-hand, read the book *The Indian Tipi, It's History, Construction and Use* by Reginald and Gladys Laubin. It gives a clear and concise description of various kinds of tipis and how they're made. It's the best I've seen on tipi construction. For those who would rather buy a tipi, there are several people and companies that make them commercially.

Heritage Tipi in Calgar., Alberta, is offering one and two-day workshops in tipi construction. To find out the specifics, write or call them at:

Heritage Tipis
P.O. Box 910
Station Main
Calgary, Alberta. Canada.
(403) 265-8474

RESOURCES

There are many good books out now on alternative housing, too many to mention here. The following are books I would recommend at least looking at before building (or buying) your home. A lot of important information is covered that might be easily overlooked otherwise. For example, choosing a good site and utilizing it to best advantage, designing the house to be as energy-efficient as possible, or where to find more information on certain building techniques. A few of them are good general books dealing mainly with the philosophy of self-help, owner-built housing.

For more information on other books not mentioned, see the "Shelter" section of *Rainbook*, Schocken, 1977.

Appropriate Technology Sourcebook, Volunteers in Asia, P.O. Box 4543, Stanford, California 94305, 1976, $4.00.

Only a small portion of this is devoted to housing, but the entire book is an important source book in all aspects of Appropriate Technology focusing on village and small community technology. Small scale systems using local resources and skills are emphasized. In the introduction to the housing section, they quote an Iranian publication which sums up the philosophy of owner-built, self-help housing: "Control, participation and culture emerge more easily in an operation that uses local resources, is labor intensive, is small scale, and has continuity with local traditions."

Hand Hewn, William C. Leitch, Chronicle Books, San Francisco 1976.

One of the best books I've seen on building log cabins. This book not only explains the techniques involved but also some of the whys and wherefores of building a log cabin. Included is information on tools needed and their use, design factors, some of the myths and strategies involved including the helpful mental attitudes. A very good annotated bibliography is also included and incorporated into the text. A most helpful book at all stages of construction, from just thinking about it to actually doing it.

The Owner-Built Home, Ken Kern, Owner-Builder Publications, Oakhurst, Ca. 93664.

This is now one of the classics for people building their own homes. It covers almost all the aspects of designing a home that fits the needs of the owner-builder, makes the most of the building site and materials, and is the least expensive. The author cites seven basic premises to follow when building your own home: 1) Pay as you go to avoid what he calls the "legalized robery" of building loans; 2) supply your own labor whenever possible. Besides saving money, it gives the owner greater satisfaction with respect to the house; 3) use your own best judgment when building and don't be bound by "conventional" ways of doing things; 4) use native materials whenever possible, an obvious advantage, 5) design and plan your own home – you the owner-builder, know best what suits your own family's needs; 6) us few but quality-grade hand tools – don't be fooled into thinking that you need the latest, expensive power tools to do the job; 7) assume responsibility for the building construction – "the contractor is the most expendable element on any job."

Especially good is the section on how to best use site and climate to achieve natural heating and cooling of the home.

The Owner-Builder and the Code, Ken Kern, Ted Kogon, and Tob Thallon, Owner-Builder Publications, P.O. Box 550, Oakhurst, California 93664, 1976, $5.00.

For those non-reservation folks who may have to deal with building codes and building inspectors, this is a good book to take a look at.

Solar Home Book, Bruce Anderson and Michael Riordan, Cheshire Books, Harrisville, New Hampshire.

For anyone interested in solar homes (and there are a lot of reasons that a lot of people should be interested in solar homes,) this is the book to see. It gives a clear, concise and comprehensive introduction to the use of solar energy in house construction. Included is information on both passive and active systems including systems that can be retrofitted onto existing structures as well as the fundamentals of solar phenomena and energy flow. Complimenting the many case studies and examples are clear, easily understood diagrams, illustrations, and photographs. As a finishing touch, the appendix includes valuable climatic and design data. Other good books on solar architecture:

Designing and Building a Solar House, Donald Watson, Garden Way Publishing, Charlotte, Vermont, 1977, $8.95.

Comparison Study of Four Solar Space Heating Systems, Peter Calthorpe, Farallones Institute, 15290 Coleman Valley Rd., Occidental, Ca. 95465, $4.00.

Other Homes and Garbage, Leckee, et al., Sierra Club Books, San Francisco, 1975.

Other books from Owner-Builder Publications:
The Owner-Built Homestead, 1975, $6.95
Stone Masonry, 1976, $6.00.

AN AMERICAN JOURNAL

SUMMER, 1978

It was a crowded highway at the end of a day driving across America. As far as the eye could see, there were cars. Long rows of cars like motorized wagon trains no longer going just west, but now, unsynchronized and random, like our own lives, spreading out and turning this way and that. Following each other out of habit. No where is the wealth and insanity of American life more obvious than on its highways.

It was muggy out, and the air was very still. We were on an overpass, slightly above the city of Gary, Indiana, which one must cross to enter the city of Chicago. In the car was Katsi, my companion; Hawie, her little girl; and our one-year-old son, Tsiolesa. I remember looking up and noticing a cloudy, almost milky texture to the air. Tsiolesa was nursing, and Hawie was playing in the back seat.

"Look at this pollution here," I said. Katsi nodded. She looked tired. It had been a long day. I looked around. We were stopped now. Behind us, as far as the eye could see, were also cars. Suddenly the air became darker.

"This is like a cloud," Katsi said. "God, it's bad here."

It was a dark cloud, coming from the industry around Gary, and settling like a large cloudy organism over the highways. "This is incredible," Katsi said. "I know," I said. "Roll up the windows."

The cars were not moving. Up ahead there was a bend in the road and one could not see what was causing the paralysis. Suddenly, the feeling hit us that we were stuck. There was no where to go. I remember thinking that maybe it was just a fog, or a combination that included fog – some kind of natural weather mist that could obscure but not poison, and then Hawie began rubbing her eyes. "Mommy, mommy! My eyes are stinging," she said. And Tsiolesa started to cry.

The air was even darker now, and the cloud was settling over a wider area. On the opposite side of the road I could see the lights from some houses trying to shine through. Katsi was coughing and I could feel my throat burn.

"I've never seen anything like this," Katsi said, covering her mouth. "Jose, what can we do?"

I felt trapped. Tsiolesa was coughing now, and Hawie was crying. "Mommy, I can't breathe," she said. "Put this over your face," I said, reaching for a sheet on the back seat. Hawie shook her head. I remember her eyes were very wide and full of fear. "No, no," she said. I forced her down on the seat. "Do it Hawie!" Katsi said. She lay very still with her face under the sheet and her little legs trembling. Tsiolesa kept coughing.

Katsi was rocking on the seat, trying to do something with him, a pleading expression in her eyes. She was taking short breaths. "Jose, I can't breathe," she said, holding Tsiolesa very tightly against her breast and pointing just under her throat. "I can't get it past here." The cars were not moving and the dark cloud was all around us. There was no sky to be seen and the lights from the houses near the road were very dim.

"This will kill us, Jose!" Katsi was saying. "I know," I said, and my throat was also on fire. Also I could feel the desperation mounting. It seemed so insane to be trapped like that in a car on a highway. "What kind of life is this?" I remember thinking and I remember praying, and then too there was a brief momen which seemed to stretch when the real possibility and immediacy of death seemed before me.

Of course all of that happened very quickly because I was looking down at the houses and wondering what kind of better chance they have in one of the houses, and I was noticing the tall wire fence along the highway and thinking about how we could get Tsiolesa over it when the cars began to move.

"We're going," Katsi said. We followed the trail of red lights. We stopped dead. (We looked at each other suddenly, denying the fear.) And then we trekked on steadily. It took three long minutes and a half a mile before the cloud began to clear and we could breathe. "Oh my god, I don't believe it!" Katsi said. "Everything we were talking about in Washington – that was it!"

I remember thinking the same thing. We were driving toward a toll gate now, and I could see that this had been the source of the traffic jam. It was money, I remember thinking angrily. Of course! Collecting money, and half a mile back, we had nearly died. We had the windows down, and I kept clearing my throat and bringing up a black phlegm.

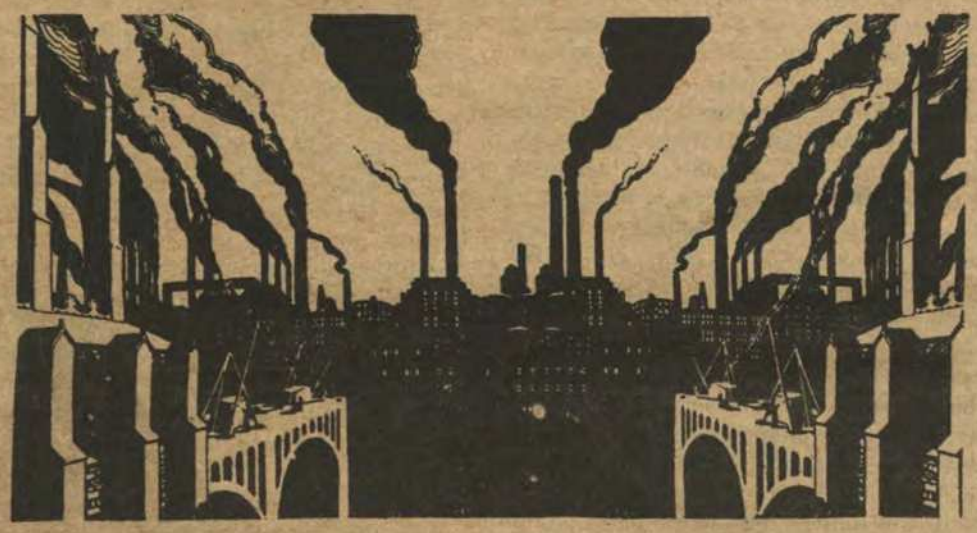
"I never had anything like that happen to me before," Katsi was saying. Tsiolesa was peacefully nursing at her breast now, his eyes closed. I could see Hawie's big eyes in the rearview mirror. "That would have killed us."

"Pollution," I said.

"Pollution," she said. "That's not the word for this stuff."

"Poison," I said.

"Yeah. Poison." she said.



We were coming up to the toll gate. I could see that a few people had gotten out of of their cars. Two rows away, one man had his arms stretched up against his car, taking deep breaths. We came up to the window. There was an older white man collecting the money.

"What was that back there?" I asked. "We were nearly asphyxiated."

"I don't know," he said, looking past us. "Pollution, I guess, from the mills."

"It was incredible," I said.

"Sure," he said. "Everybody complains." The man was not about to get excited. He spoke about it in a bored tone. Katsi leaned over. "Why in the hell aren't you people screaming in the streets?" she yelled past me. "They're poisoning people!"

The man smiled. He smiled in that I-am-a-man-of-the-world-and -you are-a-child kind of smile. It was the semblance of wisdom that people put up when they cannot bring themselves to answer a truthful question. "You should try working here," he said, sneeringly.

"Work here!" I said. "I wouldn't even live here!" We drove through.

"Boy, I'm glad I don't live here," Katsi said.

I was thinking about what that man had said about working here and his attitude. "It's crazy," I said.

"Why aren't these people out on the streets?" she said. "Don't they care? Can't they see that? Don't they have children?"

"I don't know," I said. I was thinking about the man earning his living by collecting toll money and about his aloof attitude. He didn't want to see something that was immediately in front of him. And I had the feeling that the whole disgusting problem about the way our life in North America is going – about the decripititude and fragmentation that becomes so painfully obvious once you get past the shiny-cars-and-toothpaste=smiles mentality. It boiled down to this man who had implied that in the course of earning a living, a land (or a people,) must forget to aspire to a healthy, humane life – – must forget, must forget.

"It still stinks," Katsi said.

"It's just the heat now," I said. "The heat and the junk in the air."

"Goddamn white people," Katsi said, "They're crazy."

I was passing a semi-truck and up and to the left in the sky were the trails of two planes and we could see the buble of the city now – the grim cloudiness that appeared nearly round against the flat prarie. We were in one of three long rows of cars on one of those highways that anywhere in the world would be considered monumental – the highway of development – but here is just one of many, a continuing network of concrete reaching out across the land without regard for mountain or river, community or even economic logic, as if an expansion of straight lines were enough to hold a country together. Freedom of liberty, health, and your very humanity defined by the lifeless smell of heated vinyl on a highway headed west out of Chicago.

AKWESASNE NOTES is offering these ropewire bracelets made by Iroquois silversmiths. This example of Native silverwork is made from sterling silver and are adjustable so they will fit virtually any adult.

Because of the fluctuation in silver prices, our craftspeople say that the price offer can only be extended until December 31, 1978. Iroquois people have been doing silverwork for nearly two centuries. We are trying to make this art form available to a wide audience of people.

Bracelet: $15.00.

SHORT NOTES SHORT NOTES SHORT NOTES

The Colville Confederated Indian Tribes of Washington State have signed an agreement with AMAX Inc. to allow the opening of a large copper and molybdenum open pit mine on their lands in Okanogan County. AMAX has reportedly agreed to pay $17 million for the first two years operations and agreed to spend at least $15 million more on explorations on Mount Tolman. The tribes predict annual incomes of $50 to $60 million, and say that AMAX will give preference in hiring and training to tribal members. Don Aubertin, tribal mining engineer, said, "..I have no doubt we have one of the finest mine sites in a long, long time."

The Justice Department has approved a lawsuit by Fort McDermott Reservation residents who alledge that they were denied the right to register for elections in Humboldt County, Nevada. The parties involved are presently engaged in negotiations to attempt a settlement prior to legal action.

"It is being overlooked," noted William Veeder, who has been fighting for Indian water rights, "that the Indian treaties are the supreme law of the land. Are we to pervert those basic constitutional concepts and rob the Indians because we feel that Exxon must get a little bit richer; that we must exploit the coal at Gillette, Wyoming, so we'll rob the Wind River Indians and the Crows?

"It's racism that's staring at us through this attempt upon the Winter's Doctrine, and the racism that's the basis of this backlash is a frightening, frightening thing. It's a type of genocide: we are planning the Indians out of existence for the welfare of the tremendous corporations to have their water. Let's void a basic and fundamental concept of law so we can get rich developing the coal. That's where we are."

The death rate for bottle-fed Indian babies is higher than for breast fed babies. This may be because bottle milk lacks the disease-fighting agents found in mother's milk. For this reason, the Saskatchewan Council for International Cooperation is recommending the Saskatchewan government begin a campaign promoting the breast feeding of infants. (From NEW BREED magazine.)

Bob May, who wrote an editorial in the July issue of the RAWHIDE PRESS asserting that the paper should not be under tribal council control, was fired August 1. The editorial did not accuse members of the Spokane Tribal Council of any wrongdoing, of censorship or any manipulation of the press. It simply argued, as a matter of principle, that the elected officials of a tribal community should not control the community newspaper. May has informed the tribal council that he plans to file suit if he is not reinstated or given a written summary of the reasons for his dismissal, severance pay, and compensation for accumulated comp time. (Thanks to Vince Lovett of INDIAN NEWS NOTES.)

Residents of the Hupa Valley Reservation are protesting the spraying of plant-killing chemicals in the forests of Northern California. They say that the herbicide (2,4,5-T,) which has been used by timber companies for 25 years to clear commercial forests of competitive vegetation, also kills the tan oak from which the Native people derive acorns necessary to their traditional diet. The EPA said it will look into the charges, and acknowledged that the chenical contains dioxin which is suspected of causing birth defects in animals.

The Indian Law Resource Center (see AKWESASNE NOTES, Vol. 10, No. 3) is seeking an Indian Lawyer and a secretary. They say the pay is good, and the work is hard. Contact them at the Indian Law Resource Center, 1101 Vermont Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20005.

A three-judge federal panel has upheld the two life sentences of American Indian Movement leader Leonard Peltier. The Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals of St. Louis turned down Peltier's appeal on charges stemming from the 1975 deaths of two FBI agents on the Pine Ridge Reservation. Defense attorneys William Kunstler and Mike Tiger had presented arguments to the Court last April.

Peltier was convicted in the Spring of 1977 in District Court at Fargo, N.D.. The government claimed that agents Coler and Williams had been "ambushed" as they attempted to serve a warrant on a minor charge. However, it was later established that the agents had no warrant in their possession.

Peltier and defense attorneys told the court during the appeal that the FBI had threatened and attempted to bribe witnesses in order to obtain testimony against him.

Three others were also charged in the incident. Two were acquitted in Cedar Rapids, Iowa, due to government misconduct in the case, and the charges were dismissed against the third man due to lack of evidence.

Peltier is currently serving his sentences in the federal penitentiary at Marion, Illinois.

The federal government has awarded $35.3 million to public schools (not to Indians,) in 42 states to help educate 324,991 Native children in their tribal culture, history, and heritage. Oklahoma, with $6.3 million, received the most, with California ($4.5 million) and Alaska ($4 million) bringing up second and third.

The Supreme Court has ruled that the Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians constitute a federally recognized tribe and that the lands within the Choctaw Indian Reservation satisfy the federal definition of "Indian Country" and that Choctaws charged with offenses on such lands are subject to federal and tribal law and not to state jurisdiction. A lower court had held that the Mississippi Choctaws were not a tribe, a ruling which would have exposed Choctaw lands to taxation and possible alienation.

The University of Arizona has received a grant of $800,000 to train Native people in the arts of dealing with the regulations of the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. The grant is part of a manpower project of the Department of Labor. Money will be used to assist Native people in attending the University of Arizona for four years, and will include stipends for living expenses – undergraduates $240 per month, graduate students $390 per month. The goal is to supply "..efficient American Indian administrators for their own manpower programs." Seems that CETA regulations are very complicated.....

Plans for two free do-it-yourself solar food dryers are now available from the Utah Energy Office (455 East 400 South, No. 303, Salt Lake City 84111). The solar food dehydrator can be used to dry any fruit, vegetable meat or spice in a single day's time – as fast as an electric drier; since electric driers consume about 660 watts/hour, the cost of the unit (less than $50) can be recouped within four years' time.

Indian Women United for Social Justice has issued a statement which strongly condemns anti-life "family planning" programs directed at Native peoples. They stated, "thousands of Indian women have already been sterilized," and that "the budget for health care for Indian People puts money for abortions as a high priority item." Their resolution calls for an end to sterilization (edxcept where necessary to save the woman's life,) abortions, and "white-oriented sex education" in boarding schools run by the federal Bureau of Indian Affairs. Another target of the organization is medical experimentation on Indian patients. Their address is Indian Women United for Social Justice, Box 38743, Los Angeles, California, 90038.

Federal funding of Indian programs has grown by almost $500 million in two years according to a May 22 report prepared by the BIA. In 1979 the funding of Indian programs from nine Federal agencies is calculated to be $2,044,749,000. For 1977 the same agencies report funding of $1,566,918. The four largest funders were Dept. of Interior, HEW, Labor, and HUD.

The Environmental Protection Agency now says that pollution of the environment may be a major cause of death in the United States. "CAncer, heart and lung disease, accounting for 12 percent of deaths in 1900 and 38 percent in 1940, were the cause of 59 percent of all deaths in 1976," an August 26 report by the Agency stated.

The Kingsclear Indian band in New Brunswick is engaged in a struggle with Canada over salmon fishing rights. Canada's regional fisheries department ordered the band to have no more than three nets in the water. Chief Sacobie of the Maliseet Indian Band refused. On July 15, one hundred armed men, half of them RCMP, raided the Kingsclear Reservation, seizing fishing nets and charging two people with "illegal fishing." They came with a police dog and helicopter backup, some in full riot gear. The raid met angry resistance as reserve residents threw rocks and overturned police cars. At this writing, the matter remains unresolved.

The TUNDRA TIMES reported on August 16, 1978 that North slope Natives are pointing to a well blowout in Canadian waters as an indication of what could happen if oil exploration is permitted in the Beaufort Sea off Alaska. On July 21, drifting ice forced a drilling ship off its well in the Beaufort Sea 45 miles off the Canada coast. The mishap caused a blowout that gushed sand and water until it was capped two weeks later. Native people have opposed oil exploration on the Beaufort, saying that a blowout could cause an oil slick which would be destructive to wildlife upon which they depend for supsistence. Others have pointed out that there is no known technology to clean up an oil spill in arctic waters, and there is speculation in some scientific quarters that an oil spill could have untold effects on the ecology of the North, threatening, possibly, to alter weather patterns throughout the Northern hemisphere.

Brown County, Kansas, officials have ceased issuing tax warrants against members of the Kickapoo Indian Tribe living on the reservation. The county desisted when the Kansas Department of Revenue agreed that the County has no power to tax reservation properties because of a 1976 U.S. Supreme Court decision.

OUR OWN PUBLICATIONS

A BASIC CALL TO CONSCIOUSNESS

This book is the latest publication of AKWESASNE NOTES. It is a compilation of the three position papers of the Hau de no sau nee, or Six Nations, and contains what is probably the most concise and comprehensive critique of Western Civilization through Native eyes in print, with a prologue from the editors of AKWESASNE NOTES. $2.00

A Message To All People: Hopi

The Hopi Prophecy is important to all peoples today, for as we understand what has happened to human life in previous worlds, and in the days following the Creation of this one, we can better understand what we human beings need to do today. A different sort of history from that in the textbooks. This new edition is in newly-set type. Illustrated by Kahonhes. $1.00.

Voices From Wounded Knee: The People Are Standing Up

This is the story of the liberation of Wounded Knee in the words of the participants, culled from hours of tape recorded while the occupation was in progress, accompanied by 200 striking photographs and several maps. This account is essential reading for anyone who wants to understand this episode of the struggle for human dignity and freedom in North America. Peter Lemon in the *Los Angeles Free Press* says: "A record of anger and courage, of pride and humanity, to be read with compassion and shame – and feelings of the heart for the greatness which broods upon the Sioux Reservation. 282 large-sized pages. $5.95. Temporarily Out of Print.

Turtle, Bear and Wolf

A new book of poems by Peter Blue Cloud, former poetry editor of AKWESASNE NOTES. Songs of reverence and affirmation, taut as a bowstring.
Gary Snyder says of this book: "Glimmering from below, in these poems, like the moon in the water, is that special eye, that light, which is of the true Mind-nature; human nature one with Mother Nature which is no particular nature. On this continent, the teaching is taught in the Old Way. Blue Cloud does nothing glamorous. He lives in the present, totally." $1.75.

Chimborazo: Life On the Haciendas of Highland Ecuador. **66 pp. $2.00, paperback. Published by AKWESASNE NOTES. Edited by John Brandi, with translations by Michael Scott and Mal Warwick.**
This book offers an unusual treatment of life in an Indian community in South America, with some serious and introspective commentary by the author. "I almost feel too damn educated and intellectual for this job. Because, for example, I want to start always with the most tangible problems: dividing the land, what to do with the hacienda, the water, the pasture, etc. But these people have never been allowed to make decisions. What they want is for *us* to tackle their problems, and after they learn that we can't, there is always a let-down. And they come around again, the ones that are really concerned, they begin to decipher what has passed on to them during the last few hundred years; they think of their grandfathers, they see their fathers, themselves; they think of their own sons. 'Who am I, an Indian?' they ask. And during these instances is when I feel almost blessed to be here." Whit photographs and poetry.

Native Colours

A book of poetry by Karoniaktatie. "He is an explorer with an open and unique perspective. If you remember the search to find your own hill, or valley, or garret (Karoniaktatie calls it 'a place/ to plant my seeds') – or if your still looking – this collection could add some insights and fresh directions to your journey. 'In time you'll wonder/ in time you shall /travel / in time you will / cease...' The approach here binds two cultures – it is an interesting marriage, enhanced by Karoniaktatie's striking designs and illustrations."$2.50.

BIA: I'm Not Your Indian Anymore.

A fresh new printing of this important book is in. Part of it, the story of the occupation of the BIA takeover in November, 1972, is now history. But out of that came the Twenty Points of the Trail of Broken Treaties, still the most comprehensive platform of "What do the Indians want" available. The Twenty Points, plus the government's rebuttal and a reply to that, are essential dialogue for the decade ahead. $1.95.

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VOICES FROM THE EARTH

As the official replacement of "White Roots of Peace, VOICES FROM THE EARTH is carrying on the work of travelling and presenting the message of the Native people. We plan our trips twice a year, in the early Spring (March April) and the late Fall (November December). This allows us time to work on the paper and also to tend our gardens and other activities.

Our group ranges in size from 6 to 16 persons. In this way, we have a number of speakers, singers, and other persons with which to make our presentations. An average day for the group consists of presenting several talks or leading discussion groups, guest lecturing in classes, conducting a crafts show and sale, showing films, and an evening presentation to a general audience. We have found that we can communicate to a large number of people and also provide an experience and insight into the direction of the Native movement from several viewpoints. Since our beginning we have logged over 400,000 miles, and have visited hundreds of campuses, communities, and organizations. We feel that we have had an opportunity to bring about better understanding of the Native peoples, their goals and desires, and possibly, we have helped to show some alternatives to the conditions we all face as human beings. Our Fall tour through the East Coast, the Midwest, and the Southwest is being organized now.

For further details please contact:

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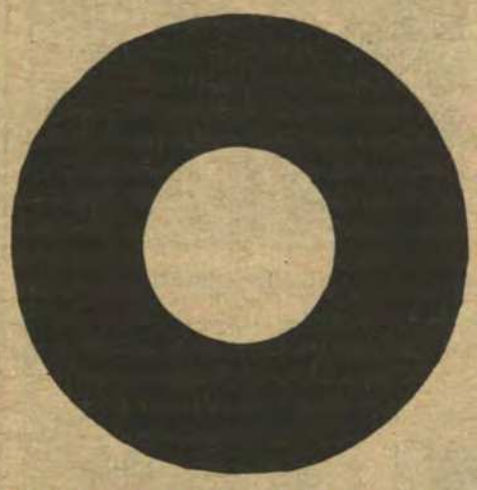

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SIOUX

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SONGS OF THE SIOUX – 6062. Recorded on the Rosebud Sioux Reservation in South Dakota, by F. Dennis Lessard. Featured in this album are Omaha Songs, Penny Song, Grass Dance Songs, Kettle Dance Songs and Round Dance Songs. Cover illustration is a historic photograph of Rosebud Sioux Singers and dancers taken in 1900.

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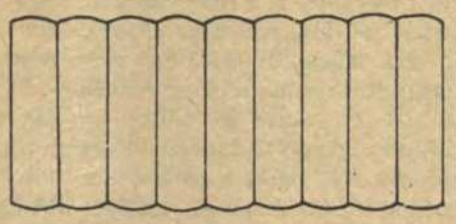

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Iroquois Ceremonial of Midwinter, by Elisabeth Tooker. $9.70 cloth.

Law and the American Indian, by Monroe E. Price. Contemporary Legal Education Series. $17.50.

Legends Told By the Old People, by Adolf Hungry Wolf. A Good Medicine book. $3.00.

Life in Harmony with Nature, by Adolf Hungry Wolf. A Good Medicine book. $2.00.

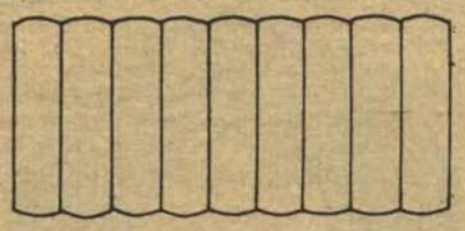
The Lost Universe, by George Weltfish. Pawnee Life and Culture. $6.95.

Magic World, by William Brandon. Imaginative translations with an excellent introduction on the nature of Native poetry. $2.95.

Manibozo and the Bullrushes, by David Martinson. Dancing with shadows. Excellent for children. $1.25.

Masked Gods, by Frank Waters. History and meaning of Pueblo and Navajo legends. $1.95.

BOOKSBOOKSBOOKSBOOKSBOOKSBOOKS



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North American Indian Arts, by Andrew Hunter Whiteford. $1.95.

Omaha Tribe, by Alice C. Fletcher and Francis La Flesche. Two vol. set, $3.50 each volume.

Parker on the Iroquois, by Arthur Parker. Valuable reference work. **only in hardcover $12.95**

Pole Building Construction, by Merrilees & Loveday. People at Akwesasne Notes are just completing two buildings using the ideas of this book. $4.95.

Pomo Basket Making, by Elsie Allen. Supreme Art for the weaver. $2.50.

Potlatch, by George Clutesi. An account of this ceremony by one of the participants. $2.95.

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Thoughts, by Adolf Hungry Wolf. $2.00.

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To Serve the Devil, by Paul Jacobs and Saul Landau, with Eve Pell. A documentary analysis of America's racial history and why it has been kept hidden. $2.95.

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the Bird in the Sugarbush. Excellent for children. $1.25.

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Working With Wool, by Noel Bennett and Tina Bighorse. How to weave a Navajo rug. $4.95.

World's Rim, by Hartley Burr Alexander. Great Mysteries of the North American Indian. $2.95.

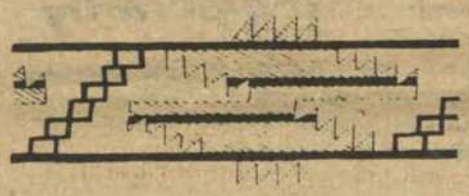
Wounded Knee, by Dee Brown. An Indian history of the west. $1.50.

NEW BOOKS NEW BOOKS NEW BOOKS

The Live and Death of Anna Mae Aquash, by Johanna Brand. The startling story of a Micmac victim in the secret war between the FBI and the American Indian Movement. 6.95.

Stone Giants & Flying Heads, by Joseph Bruchac. Illustrated by Kahonhes & Clayton Brascoupe. $3.95

not available until september 1



reviews

TEWAARATHON (Lacrosse): Akwesasne's Story of Our National Game, by the North American Indian Travelling College, published by N.A.I.T.C., R.R.3, Cornwall Island, Ontario. $15 paperback, $20 hardcover. 234 pages.

There are a number of technical weaknesses manifested in this book, and the reader will probably wish, as I did, that the authors would make a much greater attempt to give some identification to the many photographs in the text. Still, TEWAARATHON does represent a refreshing approach to the history of a sport, especially in view of the contemporary format by which sports are treated.

A fairly substantial section, which is profusely illustrated with drawings, treats the spiritual and Natural World origins of lacrosse, a field sport much like hockey which demands a high degree of skill and endurance. It is the first book that we ever saw that tries to give an honest view of a field sport and its relationship to the world, to the people, the animals, the plants, and to the processes of life.

It is also the only book we have seen that originates in a community and can trace its history down through real human characters who are intimately connected to one another. Somehow, it relates the ways in which lacrosses historically provided some of the glue of community, and one can see that there was a time in human history when games were not played by highly-paid professionals for the purpose of spectator consumption, but were a visible and viable part of community life.

In addition to that, the book is a valuable addition to the growing history of the Akwesasne community, especially since around 1883. If there is a weakness to the book, other than its technical composition, it is that it tends to see Akwesasne as a kind of fountainhead of lacrosse activity in the Indian world. There are other Indian communities which would dispute that vision. They have all produced champions and championship teams at times, and lacrosse has meant a lot to all of them. Certainly, one cannot project an adequate history of the iroquois communities without mention of lacrosse. Many of the great leaders of the Six Nationswere lacrosse players in their youth.

Despite its weaknesses, this book should be of interest to a wide audience. We would especially recommend it to young people interested in sports. It is a unique and refreshing account of a thrilling game, and it is written at a level that junior high school students should have no difficulty understanding. The chapter on the making of lacrosse sticks is the best and most interesting that we have seen, and the history of the lacrosse stick manufacturing business on Cornwall Island is probably the best account of the rise of a locally-controlled light industry on an Indian territory in print. Serious scholars will find the work to be a unique example of an almost folk history of an Indian community, one which gives insights into the character of Akwesasne found, to our knowledge, nowhere else.

LETTERS LETTERS LETT

Notes:

I am a Lakota (Sioux) at Oregon State Penitentiary and a member of our Indian Culture Club. Today my cell partner brought home the AKWESASNE NOTES and handed it to me. Immediately I began reading it as I always do. But this time something happened inside my soul and I cried for the first time in a long time. Here I am a grown Brother who thought tears were for the weak. But as I read "The Longest Walk" beginning on page 6 and ending on page 11, many times I found myself filling up with emotion that I thought was long gone. And how I wish I could have been a participant of such a courageous and spiritual walk. When I read where Grandfather David from Hopi Nation sang and danced along the road and finally cried, I think I felt what he felt and I think I know why he cried.

I was so touched that I didn't care what these convicts would say. I sat in my cell with tears flowing down my cheeks. But I continued to read on. Many times the tears flowed and now I feel I am more spiritually aware due to this "walk" and to the AKWESASNE NOTES for sharing the Walk with all the unfortunate brothers and sisters that couldn't be there.

I now know that we as Native peoples have a Sacred Pipe that nothing can equal but the Great Spirit. And as a result of this I have a strong feeling that countless people too have felt and know of the importance of our Sacred Pipe and the direction of our people.

I want to thank you for the wonderful job you are all doing at NOTES and may the Great Spirit continue to give you the strength to walk in beauty and balance as you have been doing for thousands of years.

A Brother

Notes:

I want to throw in some general comments about the paper. The good news is that the quality of the paper remains excellent, and events covered are covered well. The bad news is that I miss reading individual letters from people all over to the paper.

That section seems to shrink every issue, and it was a vital exchange of information and processes that isn't available anywhere else. It has a lot to do with the feeling we're not alone. I wish you would expand the area allowed for individual letters again.

Thank you for your time. Keep up your important work.

Lilias Jones
No Address Given

Notes:

Thank you so much for the newsletter/paper. It gives me hope as well as making me somewhat more aware of the greatness of our problems but the even greater wonder of the survival of people.

The Longest Walk which culminated in the park across the street was spiritually moving. The response from "the power mongers" is less important than the beauty of people united and the potential power of that. How I wish there was more I could do.

Norma Nager
Washington, D.C.

Notes:

I am formerly a New Yorker, having lived in that city most of my life. However, my husband and I relocated here 5 years ago, since the landlords there refused to give folks enough heat – but we are paying for that now with 90 degree heat all summer, and would sure like to get away to a place a little cooler. I alive always been facinated with Indians even as a little girl, and here have visited Seminoles in the area near here.

I am fond of their colorful clothes, though I can't afford to buy them, as we are on social security now, and not enjoying life.

Will appreciate someone to correspond with – male or female – age not important. Thanks a lot.

Mrs. Grace Triantos
P.O. Box 1894
Miami, Florida 33101

Notes:

Thank you once again for my summer issue of AKWESASNE NOTES. I enjoy reading every page and article, your paper is the most informative, well written and educational American Indian newspaper published.

I, my wife, and my sister in N.J. are strong supporters of AIM and what it stands for, and we have all been busy contacting our Congressmen and senators by mail and phone in regards to the eleven legislative bills up before congress, as well as getting petitions against them. I have over 35 signatures on one petition alone that I have on the bulletin board in a local grocery store, and I have others out. They will be sent to President Carter, and copies will also be sent to the other houses of our capital. The response so far has been very impressive, both from the congressmen and senators we have written.

I have very strong feelings for my American Indian brothers, and will fight all the way for them. I also hope to have some of my articles about American Indians who made it and became famous, such as Vice President Charles Curtis, an Osage, who made it up from the bottom, being raised on the Kaw Reservation, and the bills he had passed giving the American Indian citizenship in 1924.

Others who became famous also, like former Napoleon B.Johnson, former Chief Justice of the Oklahoma Supreme Court, Louis Tewanima, our great olympic champion marathon runner, who became inducted into the Arizona Hall of Fame in 1957, Maria Tallchief, and her sister, also Osage, who became world reknown Prima Ballerinas, Susan LaFlesche, Omaha, who became the first Indian woman physician, and many many others.

I hope to have these published in the "Crown Dancer" Apache newspaper as periodicals as an inspiration for Indian youngsters to stay in school and say, "I can do it too," instead of dropping out of school.

As you can surmise, I am an American Indian historian an am delving as deeply as I can into Indian history for documented facts, I have three full loosecleaf books of history so far, as well as famous orations of Indian Tribal chiefs who spoke so eloquently, with such wisdom, if only we could have such men in our White House now.

Now, getting back to the one reason I am writing. The Reverend Calhoun at the Mt. Airy Baptist Church approached me and asked me to speak about the American Indian at the men's group at his church. I am honored. They are in need of an education. I am a Christian, but I have had contact with "so called Christians," who are ignorant. When I approached one of them in conversation about the disgraceful bills begore Congress, his reaction was completely negative because the Indians "aren't Christians."

He is one I intend to educate as to why so many Indians were driven away from Christianity after having it shoved down their throats, and then turning on them and stealing them blind and murdering them. If only I can keep my cool! They have no idea of how many Indians are becoming missionaries and ministers today, but even so, if they aren't all turning to Christianity, the Indian has his right to choose and worship as he believes. Senate Joint Resolution 102 was just unanimously passed guaranteeing Native Americans the rights and freedoms to worship as they please, and to worship through ceremonial traditional rights. It also calls for the President to insure that Native American religions and cultural rights are protected. I received this information from the latest publication of the "Institute of Indian Studies" from the University of South Dakota, August 1978.

Now then, can you help me? Can you suggest or outline for me the way to go in my talk, as far as subjects? Any help you can give me will be appreciated.

Ernie Legeza
P.O. Box 395
Mt. Airy, Maryland 21771

Notes:

I was born in France, my wife in England, and we lived for many years in Paraguay and Uruguay. Until three years ago I was a high school teacher in the huge city of Sao Paulo, Brazil. My wife and I then left to start a small farm of our own at the above address. We both reject the consumer society and its criminal, disastrous effects, including the Western "civilized" peoples' usual contempt for, and exploitation of, non-whites.

For the last few years I have had a growing interest in and sympathy for the "Indian question" and the Native people, so specially downtrodden in South America. A few odd numbers of AKWESASNE NOTES I came across at a friend's have made me much more aware of the tremendous importance of AIM, of the Native Way of Life, and of NOTES, not only for the Native people, but also for the whole of mankind.

Please tell me if there is any way I could help. I thank you in advance fot the NOTES and send you my heartfelt wishes for the success of your work

Name Withheld
Brazil

Notes:

I have seen your people and I have heard your words. I listened intently as you read the Manifesto at the pow-wow at the end of the Longest Walk. I have danced with you as one. You have made history. The day will not be forgotten.

I may have been the only professional archeologist at the reading, so I feel compelled to speak. What you have to say about the archeologist in the Manifesto must be untwisted (AKWESASNE NOTES, 1978, Vol. 10, No. 3, page 16). Your aims and the aims of the new archeologist are not apart. I am speaking of the modern, professional archeologist, not the collector of artifacts or the archeologist of the old wchool who sought material objects for his collections.

You showed your gratitude for the elders for teaching you of the old ways and you know the value of not forgetting your traditions. The new archeologist too is committed to understanding the traditions and old ways of uncovering misconceptions. The professional archeologist seeks understanding of the people behind the artifacts. He seeks to study the tools and bones, settlement patterns and environments, and other things, so that he may better understand the way of life of the first people and of their wise interaction with Mother Earth – so we can avoid the future destruction of all peoples.

The archeologists' duty therefore is to obtain the maximum information from the artifacts so he may put an end to lies and misconceptions about the Native peoples. There can be no authentic reconstructions of the prehistoric old ways without scientific, professional research and analysis, although this could be coordinated with living Native traditions better than it has been. Thus, the information, not the object, is his coal. Once this information is obtained, I am inclined to agree with you that artifacts should be returned to the site (except for such sites which are doomed to desecration by the bulldozer. And most archeology in the country nowadays is aimed toward salvage of such sites as are threatened by construction.)

Whether the artifacts were put back exactly in place in the old site, were simply reinterred in a bundle near the original site, or were accurately repositioned in a new site away from construction/destruction, I agree that the archeologist should look more closely at returning the artifacts to the land.

The fact is, modern excavation methods and records are so precise that a flint flake, bead, or bone could be replaced to within one milimeter of its original position, even though the site might have been entirely destroyed. The problem would be that collectors, the real culprits in your war against the "Western grave robers" might come along at a later date and really destroy the site, or that, as new methods come about, new information which could come from the tools will be lost. And were the museums emptied, the wonders of the really old ways could not be shared with new generations of Native peoples and others.

It is exactly this accurate information which the interpreter of Native ways needs in order to eradicate lies. To use your words, "Further insult is added when such desplays are rampant with misinformation about our people." Our goals are one.

The Pamunkey Indian Nation of the former Powhatan Confederacy is currently sponsoring a project, the Pamunkey Project, which is dependent upon just such archeological information for its fulfillment. A full-scale, pre-Columbian Indian village is being constructed using only replicas of the old tools, natural materials, and building methods. The knowledge of how to do this came from archeology as the old ways were long ago lost by the tribe. As a result, a totally authentic village will result for the cultural and educational enrichment of this and other nations. Had the tribe taken a position of alienation from the archeologist, such a village would have been a pathetic simulation instead of a respected replication of what once was.

What I am trying to say is that it is not the modern archeologist who is working against you. It is the builder and destroyer of land and the collector of Indian artifacts who is desecrating your graves and robbing your lands. The archeologist of today is trying his best to salvage what then remains of the old ways for the benefit of all brothers.

Everett Callahan, Director
Pamunkey Research Center
Rt. 1, Box 217 AA
Pamunkey Indian Reservation
King William, Va. 23086

1979 LUNAR CALENDAR

The AKWESASNE NOTES Calendar for 1979 will be ready in late September. The 1979 Calendar will feature drawings by a number of different Native artists. Each page is a separate work of art you will treasure.

We urge you to order now. Many of our friends were disappointed last year because we did not have enough calendars to fill all the orders we received.

Calendars can be sent as gifts, each mailed separately to an address you have supplied to us, or we can supply them to you in quantities for distribution in your own way. Each calendar you buy helps to support the work of AKWESASNE NOTES.

The price is $3.50 per calendar, including postage and handling. Overseas orders please add an extra $1.00 for postage. Individual calendar orders must be prepaid.

POETRY

Children dance
the people labor
bearing the burden
of white mans "favors"

And in the distance
an eagle cries
reminding us of
days gone by

And in my soul
there is a pain
for the day that will dawn
when we'll rise again...

Dana de Luz

in the chipped and tattered
weaving of a willow basket
the voice of an ancient age
sleeps dreaming of breath

my eyes have closed
and look forward to sleep
but over fields, trees, mountains
and clouds
i sail on an eagle's wing

from fresh currants of night air
above manzanitas near the cemetary
the language of ancient lips
burns in our blood again

(From ROUND VALLEY SONGS)

pain is my partner
this life i am leading
death has been cheated
I'm bleeding to dream
filling buckets with secrets
milling screams into grain
to stuff back in my mouth

the past transfuses
i lose nothing, i lost
the present it drains
into the earth
the future is transparent
into sky

only i can fill it
contain it
inside my own rivers
i'll flow

Karoniaktatie

you cannot harm one
who has dreamed
a dream like mine

Jesse Good voice

the bird that knows
how to fly
is free

(Author unknown)

Pow Wow Imagery

Strawberry moon
in silence watching
a Chippewa grandmother
weaving baskets of
sweet grass

P.J. Brown
Wi ini napa